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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

UNIVERSITY

OF

Edinburgh;

CHIEFLY

COMPILED FROM ORIGINAL PAPERS AND RECORDS,

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BY

ALEXANDER BOWER,

AUTHOR OF THE LIFE OF LUTHER.

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THE

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CHAPTER VIII.

Members of the University in the beginning of the year 1700—Mode of supplying vacant Professorships—Visitation of the College—Professor of Church History—Principal Carstares—Laws of the College—Plan for the Education of English Dissenters at Edinburgh—Professorship of Law of Nature and Nations.

At the commencement of the eighteenth century, the *Senatus Academicus* of the university of Edinburgh consisted of the following persons: Dr Gilbert Rule, principal; George Campbell, professor of divinity; Alexander Rule, professor of Hebrew; Andrew Massie, William Law, John Row, William Scott, profes-

sors of philosophy; Laurence Dundas, humanity; James Gregory, mathematics; and James Sutherland, botany. Robert Henderson was secretary and librarian; and Sir Patrick Johnstone, the Lord Provost, claimed, as his successor still does, the right of being chancellor and rector. George Mitchell was college bailie, who may be considered as vice-chancellor, because the duties of that office were assigned to him.

In 1693, each of the four universities received a gift from King William of three hundred pounds *per annum* out of the bishops rents. Those who were disaffected to the government had been excluded at the revolution from the universities. This donation, therefore, was a politic measure; and afforded a substantial proof of William's good will towards them, and his desire to retain them in his service. It required, however, a good deal of solicitation before the business was finally arranged; and the universities found it necessary to employ one of their own number to negociate the affair in London. Principal Dunlop of Glasgow was unanimously selected by them for this purpose, as one who, both by his zeal for the cause, known abilities, and weight of character, was likely to promote its progress. He had incurred a very considerable expence by the journey, and getting the grant passed through the proper public offices in London; but, upon his return to Scotland, after having spent much time, and being put to a great deal of trouble, he found

some difficulty in being reimbursed. The claim which he presented was esteemed to be too high; and several of the universities were not disposed to comply with his demands. In the meantime, before this matter was adjusted, the principal died; but his son repeated the demand; which occasioned the patrons to adopt the following resolution, upon 12th June 1700. "The Council taking to their consideration, that the deceased Mr William Dunlop, principal of the college of Glasgow, was at considerable pains and expences in procuring from his Majesty the gift of twelve hundred pounds sterling yearly, out of the bishops rents, to the use of the four universities of this kingdom, the sum of three hundred pounds sterling was, by the said gift, granted to the university of this city; and that the said Mr William Dunlop did, while in life, and now Mr Alexander Dunlop, his son, does claim a certain sum of money from the good town, as their part of the expences *depurst* by the said defunct in obtaining the said gift; the Council grant him one hundred pounds sterling."*

In the course of a few months, Mr John Row, one of the professors of philosophy, died. The patrons formed the resolution of supplying the vacancy with a person fully qualified; and that, in order to secure this, it should be settled by a comparative trial. The manner of proceeding, in such cases, is not generally

* Counc. Regist. vol. xxxvi p. 552.

known; and as it is intimately connected with the history of the university, and as, on this occasion, the different steps are detailed at much greater length than those of any other which I have had an opportunity of examining, I have introduced the narrative in this place, as it cannot fail to be esteemed as curious by the reader.

"*Edinburgh, 7th October* 1700.

"The Council, considering that there is a vacancy of a profession of philosophy in the college of this burgh, through the decease of Mr John Row, late professor of philosophy there; and the Council being resolved to have the said office filled up with a well qualified person for teaching of philosophy: Therefore, they appoint a public dispute to be made in the said college for the said office. In order whereunto, they ordain programs, in the ordinary form, to be affixed upon the college, public places, and avenues of this city, and other colleges and universities of this kingdom, inviting all qualified persons to come and list themselves against the 12th of November next, in order to dispute for the said office; and recommend to Bailie Rule and Bailie Ferguson to cause draw the said program, and dispatch the same with all possible diligence.

"Q. F. Fq; S.

"Senatus Edinensis Academiæ parens et auctor hoc programmate monitos vult, philosophiæ et literarum

Græcarum studiosos, professoris philosophiæ Cathedram in Academia sua nunc vacuam, dignissimo cuique, et hisce literis instructissimo, ingenii et eruditionis præmium patere.

"Quapropter quisquis erudiendæ juventutis Academicæ provinciam haud aspernatur, hunc, proborum testimonio ornatum adesse jubet pridie idus IXbris, ut auditorio superiore nomen apud judices profiteatur, simulque de themate præscribendo audiat; Certus nihil cujusquam gratiæ aut fautoribus tribuendum, nec nisi virtutis et meriti in ferendis suffragiis rationem habendam.

"*12th November* 1700.

"The which day, compeared, upon the invitation of the program for a dispute for the vacancy of Mr John Row, late regent, his office, the persons following, and listed themselves for the said dispute. Mr William Hog, son to the deceased William Hog, merchant burgess of Edinburgh, and produced testificates of his behaviour and qualifications. Mr Charles Erskine, brother-german to the laird of Aloa, and produced testificates of his behaviour and qualifications. Kenneth Campbell, servant to the Earl of Argyle, and John Beaton, servant to the laird of Culloden, junior, who produced no testificates. Thereafter the counsil allowed Mr Campbell and Mr Beaton to give in the testificates against Friday next, at twelve of the clock, with certification, not to be allowed to dispute, if they fail; and, because the counsel have good reason to suspect that other per-

sons will yet list themselves, therefore, they allow any persons to list themselves, and give in their testificates, betwixt and the said diet: And appoint Bailie Clark, Dr Gilbert Rule, principal, Mr William Crichton, convener, as a committee to examine these testificates.

"The candidates having drawn lots for the subject matter of their dispute, the lots fell as follows, *viz.* No. 5, *De Motu*, to Mr John Beaton. No. 6, *De Prima Moralitatis Regula*, to Mr William Hog. No. 8, *De Materiæ Divisibilitate*, to Mr Charles Erskine. No. 9, *De Brutorum Perceptione*, to Mr Kenneth Campbell. Thereafter the candidates were enjoined to be ready to make a short exposit upon an ode of Pindar, prescribed by the principal, against this day eight days, for a tryal of their knowledge in the Greek; and the council appointed Thursday thereafter for the public dispute."

The public disputation was held in the college, in presence of the principal and all the professors, and five of the ministers of Edinburgh. No remarks are made respecting the comparative qualifications of the candidates. But undoubtedly a difference of opinion had existed among the judges, because no election took place until the subsequent February. Upon the 28th of that month, "Mr Charles Erskine, who was elected a regent of philosophy in the college of Edinburgh, on the 26th, compearing, accepting his office, made faith *de fideli administratione*,

and took the oath of allegiance, and signed the same, with the assurance; and the council appoints him to take up the bajan class, and teach the same, for this year, a month after the ordinary time of the rising of that class."*

It is well known that public disputations had become very common from the first introduction of the school philosophy; and, in a short time, a faculty for disputation was considered as the great criterion, by which a man's talents, and his proficiency in knowledge, were to be ascertained. A form similar to this is still retained in many universities. The publicity which was given to the program, marks peculiarly the custom of the times. It was not only to be affixed upon the college, but also upon the public places and avenues of the city, and other colleges and universities of the kingdom. These were the only methods by which it could be made public. The *Edinburgh Gazette* was the only newspaper which was published in Edinburgh at this time, and that but twice in the week, upon Monday and Thursday, and was contained in a single leaf of small paper. There is not the least intimation given in this newspaper that a regent was then wanted in the university of Edinburgh; which clearly ascertains that its circulation was very confined. But the program also shews the general good under-

* Counc. Regist. vol. xxxvi. p. 661-674, &c.—A more particular account shall be given of Mr Erskine in the sequel, who, in process of time, was advanced to the high office of Lord Justice-Clerk.

standing that prevailed among the universities of Scotland; and it ought not to be omitted, that the patrons of the university manifested their disinterestedness and zeal for its prosperity, when the *alumni* of other colleges were invited to become candidates. The subjects for disputation were such as are generally to be found in the theses proposed to graduates. It was unnecessary to examine critically the candidates in regard to their knowledge of the Latin language, because the exposition of the ode of Pindar was in Latin, and also the disputations. The comparative trial, therefore, commenced with the Greek.

Professor Campbell, of the divinity chair, died in the autumn of 1701,* and was succeeded by Mr George Meldrum, minister of the Tron Church, Edinburgh. Being a person of great diffidence, he accepted of the office with a considerable degree of reluctance; but the general esteem in which his talents were held, the known probity of his character, and his popularity as a preacher, induced the patrons to urge him to accept of it. He at last consented to make trial of it for one year, upon the express condition, that if he felt the additional duty incompatible with the faithful discharge of his functions as a parish minister, he should be at liberty to give in his

* Mr Campbell appears to have died in poor circumstances. The patrons generously presented his widow with L.50, his son Colin with L.25, and his daughters Agnes and Mary with L.25 each.—Counc. Regist. vol. xxxvii. p. 139.

resignation. The council, however, rather than dispense with his services (for he was resolved to retain his situation as one of the ministers of Edinburgh), offered him an assistant, who should perform the more laborious part of his parochial duty, such as catechising, and ministerially visiting his flock; with which he at last complied.

The business of the university had proceeded very agreeably, from the year 1690, when Doctors Monro and Strachan were expelled. The most rigorous measures were resorted to, to compel all the professors to acknowledge the government of William and Mary, and not only the expediency, but the justice, of those steps upon which the revolution settlement was founded. The ruling party seem to have accomplished what they aimed at; because the utmost harmony prevailed within the walls of the college. The nation at large, however, were very much divided in their political sentiments on this subject: and perhaps no question was ever discussed in this country with more keenness, or in which the passions of men were more exasperated. From being originally a political question, by degrees it became a religious controversy; and recriminations of a very disagreeable nature were mutually exchanged. The principal, Dr Rule, who has been mentioned above, had entered warmly, and at great length, upon the defence of the divine right of presbytery; and he and his predecessor seem to have carried on a mixed warfare, which frequently degenerated into personalities.

Mr George Meldrum, professor of divinity, had attempted a vindication of the national church, as by law established; which gave great offence to the episcopalian party, and was the cause of giving him afterwards a considerable degree of uneasiness. If we are to judge from this discourse, he appears to have been a man of a mild disposition, of great modesty, and exceedingly adverse to disputation. But he had unfortunately introduced the common topic of the times; and he speedily received a formal answer, written in a very high tone. This was indeed the general character of the treatises published by the advocates for episcopacy during that troublous period. They derived confidence from their connexion with the Church of England. They looked forward for assistance from that quarter; and as they certainly received encouragement, particularly from the High Church party, they assumed a superiority to which they were not entitled: Not a superiority of literary acquirements or of talent, but a presumption that the defence which they made was irresistible; because they imagined that they could prove a regular succession, upon which they rested the whole controversy. The sermon was preached before the commissioner, the Duke of Queensberry, upon 16th May 1703, from Psalm 122. 6, and was on peace. Towards the conclusion, however, he explained his sentiments very plainly, concerning the evil consequences of patronage, and the danger of extending toleration too far. He entertained

sentiments which were espoused by both parties; and the answerer is more intolerant than Mr Meldrum. He discharged the duties of professor of divinity with credit to himself, and much to the satisfaction of the public, until spring 1709, when he died.*

Two days after Mr Meldrum's election, Mr Alexander Rule, who had been appointed to the profession of Hebrew in 1694, gave in his demission to the council, "as he was resolved to follow another course of life, and for other weighty considerations." It was at the request of the council that Mr Rule demitted; but no reason is assigned. His resignation was accepted; but of his future history I am ignorant.

Mr David Ogilvie and Mr John Goodale became candidates for the office. It is probable that Mr Rule had consented to teach the class during the session, because public intimation of the vacancy was not given until the subsequent August. Four ministers of the city were appointed to examine their "qualifications for the profession of the Hebrew language, and to give them a chapter of the Bible for the subject of their examination, which they are to give an account of to the said examinators, within twenty-four hours after the same is presented to them, and what farther their examinators shall think fit to put them to, in order to know their qualifications, whether they be fit for teaching or not; and to

* Counc. Regist. vol. xxxvii. p. 17.

report their opinion thereanent against Wednesday next."* The council were evidently anxious to have the place supplied, when they only allowed a week to the examinators to give in their report; and yet, from causes now unknown, the professorship continued vacant for nearly three months. There seems to be little reason to doubt that neither of the candidates were found qualified, and that the examinators felt great difficulty in recommending either to the patrons. In order to incite others to become competitors, the following resolution was adopted upon 8th October 1702. "The council, considering that there is no fund or mortification in the college of Edinburgh for maintaining a professor of the oriental languages, especially the Hebrew language, and considering how necessary it is for the advancing of learning that there be a professor there for teaching of the said languages; Therefore, the council declares they will allow to any person that shall be found capable to teach the oriental languages, especially the Hebrew language, five hundred merks of yearly salary for his management; which the council hereby appoints to be paid to him quarterly by the present and succeeding college treasurer."†

The salary was no great temptation, being only about twenty-seven pounds sterling: So that it is not surprising that none better qualified than the two already mentioned came forward. As the busi-

* Counc. Regist. vol. xxxvii. p. 222. † Ibid. p. 318.

ness of the college had already commenced, it was found necessary to appoint some one to perform the duties of the office. Mr Goodale was therefore elected in November; and continued in that chair for about seventeen years. In consequence of his numerous family, he received one hundred merks of addition to his income, in the course of the year subsequent to his appointment.*

Oriental literature was then in the lowest state of degradation. The celebrated John Reuchlin, or, according to the fashion of the times, as he chose to call himself, *Capnio*, had, about the commencement of the sixteenth century, acquired some knowledge of the Hebrew language from the Jewish rabbins, whilst he studied at Rome. Upon returning to his native country, he exerted himself most strenuously in disseminating a knowledge of it through Germany; and it was through his endeavours, and those of his pupils, that we possess the early translations of the Old Testament from the original, at the time, and immediately subsequent to the reformation. For many centuries the christians were entirely excluded from procuring any access to the knowledge of Hebrew. In the thirteenth century, it was difficult to find as many doctors as were sufficient to condemn the errors and blasphemies contained in the Jewish commentary,

* His predecessors were allowed six hundred merks. It ought to be observed, that this was entirely gratuitous, as the patrons had no funds appropriated for the support of this professorship.

called the *Talmud*; and, in short, it was not till 1455, that Hebrew was taught privately, under the patronage of the university of Paris. At last, that great patron of learning, Francis I. founded a professorship of Hebrew, and another of Greek, in the same seminary, in 1530; which became the cause of those languages being more generally studied. The two Buxtorffs were most indefatigable in cultivating oriental learning; and they succeeded wonderfully in inspiring a taste for such kind of studies, both in consequence of their popularity as professors, and the numerous works which they published being dispersed throughout Europe. The labours of these men made a most powerful impression on the theologians of Holland: So that Erpenius, Golius, Leusden, and other very eminent orientalists, are to be considered as having issued from their school. The universities of Leyden and Utrecht were the great places of resort for students who had formed a taste for Hebrew literature. It has been mentioned, in the former volume, p. 200, 231, that the patrons had invited, at different times, two Jews to give instructions in the Hebrew language; but their endeavours were never attended with success; and, consequently, in a short time, the study of it was not only neglected, but, for a good many years, there was no professor in Edinburgh. The ministers of the city, therefore, in 1694, recommended the appointment of Mr Alexander Rule.

The great barrier in the way of making progress

in the acquisition of the Hebrew tongue, and rendering the study of it more general, was the practice of teaching it with the incumbrance of the Masoretic punctuation. The principles of sound criticism had never been applied to Hebrew literature. The genius of the revivers of learning was almost exclusively exercised upon the Greek and Roman classics; and, independently of every other consideration, the structure of the oriental languages, their idioms, &c. are so different from those of the Greeks or Romans, that it need not excite surprise, if the study of that kind of learning appeared to be uninviting, and even excited disgust. Besides, the canons of Hebrew criticism, laid down by the Jewish doctors, were acquiesced in as of the most sacred authority, whose foundation was not to be examined, but implicit reliance to be placed upon them. Hence, the authority of these critics assumed so formidable an aspect, that it was esteemed a gross violation of propriety to call in question what they sanctioned; and even the crime of corrupting the sacred text was imputed to those who exercised the right of examining for themselves.

In the course of the subsequent year (1703), some unpleasant altercation took place between the patrons and the professors of the university. The constitution of the college being entirely different from that of any other in Scotland, and the power of the Town-Council of Edinburgh over its internal economy being so great, could hardly fail to be viewed

with an invidious eye by such regents as cherished other causes of dissatisfaction, and were fond of exercising authority. When the legal power of the Town-Council to interfere with the business of the college is considered, it will appear astonishing that so little dissension prevailed. The magistrates had found it necessary to assert their authority only twice or thrice since the foundation; and these temporary misunderstandings arose chiefly from the political circumstances of the times, when all classes of men in Scotland were so much divided. If the principal, Dr Rule, was not dead when this dispute commenced, he was so very ill, that he could not attend any meetings in the college; otherwise, in all likelihood, the controversy would never have been agitated.

Upon 20th January 1703, all the professors met in the college, as an independent faculty, and adopted the following resolution:—"The faculty of philosophy within the city of Edinburgh, taking to their consideration the reasons offered by Mr Scott why his magistrand class should be privately graduated, and being fully satisfied with the same, do unanimously, according to their undoubted right, contained in the charter of erection, and their constant and uninterrupted custom in such cases, appoint the said class to be laureated privately, upon the last Tuesday of April next, being the twenty-seventh day of the said month. Signed, by order, and in presence of the faculty, by ROBERT HENDERSON, clerk."*

* College Records.

This minute occasioned the Lord Provost to propose a visitation of the college; which was accordingly held in the library, upon 15th February 1703. The following is a copy of the result of their deliberations.

"Present, the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council, the Lord Advocate and Sir Gilbert Elliot, Assessors,* and eight Ministers of the city.

"The masters of the college being called for, compeared Messrs George Meldrum, Andrew Massie, W. Law, W. Scott, C. Erskine, L. Dundas, J. Gregory, J. Goodale, and .... Cumming.

"The Lord Provost ordered the laws given by the Council of Edinburgh, December 1628, to be read;† and that paragraph of the laws anent the visitations of the college was read accordingly: Thereafter, the act of the Town-Council 1663, anent the visitations of the college, read. The Lord Provost told the Council he had seen an unwarrantable act of the masters of the college, *viz.* professors of philosophy, humanity, mathematics, and church history, wherein they assert themselves a faculty, empowered by a charter of erection, and appointed Mr W.

* These assessors were Sir James Stuart, Bart. and the *first* Lord Minto, for there were two Lords of Session of this title, and of the same name. The person mentioned in the text was advanced to the bench 28th June 1705. His son was not appointed a Lord of Session till 4th June 1726.—Lord Hailes' Catal.

† These laws are inserted at full length in the Appendix.

Scott's magistrand class to be privately graduated this year; and desired the pretended act to be read. Thereafter, the Lord Advocate desired the reading of the act might be deferred at that time, because his Lordship had conferred with the masters, and found that they were willing to pass from that act, and take up any protest taken anent electing a commissioner for the college to the general assembly; and that the masters would apply to the magistrates, their patrons, to know the time, place, way, and manner how the laureation should be made this year: And that his Lordship would wait upon any committee of the Council, and make such overtures as might regulate such matters in time coming, to the honour of the Council, as patrons, and advantage of the masters, with their due dependence upon the Council. Thereafter, Bailie Blackwood answered, that he was very well pleased with what my Lord Advocate had proposed; but that he judged the Council would not be satisfied with the masters simple passing from the pretended act of their pretended faculty, unless it were passed from, as an act wanting all manner of foundation. Therefore, my Lord Provost asked Dean of Guild Brown's opinion; who agreed also to the overture made by my Lord Advocate; but desired that the masters may be interrogated if they themselves agreed to it. Upon which, my Lord Provost asked them all separately; to which the masters gave their consent severally; and my Lord

Advocate did undertake to extend the matter in writing

Meanwhile, the patrons were determined to assert their right in the most positive manner; and, instead of relinquishing, to take the earliest opportunity of vindicating what they conceived to be their most unalienable privilege as patrons of the university. Upon the 5th of May, therefore, they "ordered Mr William Scott his magistrand class to be publicly graduated in the public hall of the college upon the first Tuesday of May next;" and this they appear to have done without consulting Mr Scott or any member of the *Senatus Academicus*. This positive appointment produced a petition from Mr Scott, presented to the Council upon the twelfth of the same month (so that he had not complied with their express command), which "was attested by the rest of the professors of philosophy, representing several reasons and insupportable difficulties why there could not be a public laureation for the present year. Whereupon the Council did permit and allow the laureation to be private, *pro hac vice*, with sundry other instructions."

Besides, "the Council discharge and prohibit the regents, upon their peril, to graduate any in time coming, but such who take out a certificate or diploma with the town's seal, and poor scholars to have it *gratis;* and order that all certificates make honour-

able mention of the Magistrates and Council of Edinburgh as patrons of the college."*

Mr Scott's attempt to encroach upon the acknowledged privileges of the patrons was indecent; and the means which were employed were not the most judicious, nor calculated to be of advantage to himself, or promote the prosperity of the university. All the other professors (excepting Mr Meldrum and Mr Goodale, who had no interest in the matter, because such students as intended to graduate had done so previously to their entering the divinity hall or the Hebrew class) were equally blameable for being too precipitate in assuming a power which they were certain would be disputed. It must be admitted, that several reasons concurred at that time to render it more agreeable to the regents that the graduations should be private. There was no compulsory statute of the university which rendered it necessary, or by which a student pledged himself to become a candidate for any academical degree. This was entirely left to his own choice. The regular stated time was at the end of the session, when a great many of the students had become so impatient to repair to their friends, that they generally left the university two or three weeks before its conclusion. From the poverty of the country, others were either unwilling or unable to afford the small expence of taking out a diploma; and how generous soever the

* Counc. Regist. vol. xxxvii. p. 422.

magistrates might be, in allowing no charge to be made on poor scholars, yet the acceptance of the gratuity was esteemed as so degrading, and lowered the student so much in the opinion of his comrades, that it was with difficulty any could be prevailed upon to accept of it. The consequence was, that few applied for the degree of master of arts,—the public had become remiss in their attendance on the ceremony,—the vanity of the teacher of the magistrand class was hurt,—and his popularity as a professor materially impaired.

I am inclined to think, that no further altercation took place at this time upon the subject of graduation; but whether this was the case or not, or that the Lord Advocate had neglected to extend the minute, or that the patrons judged it proper again to assert their superiority over the university at the commencement of the session, the substance of the resolutions already mentioned was again made public upon the 15th October, to which was annexed an abbreviate of the acts respecting the college, which had been read in the presence of the Council, on 3d September preceding,* which was the last step taken in the business.

The professors had also protested against the manner in which a commissioner to the general assembly was elected. They claimed a power to themselves, separately from the Magistrates and Town Council,

* *Vid.* Appendix, No. I.

to chuse their representative. This innovation, however, was resisted; and they felt themselves under the necessity of submitting at this time to the determination of the patrons; so that the *Senatus Academicus*, in conjunction with the Town-Council, continued as formerly to make choice of a member to the assembly. There is no precedent, however, from which it can be proved that they were at liberty to elect any besides the principal or one of the professors.

This temporary misunderstanding being rectified, the visitors proceeded to investigate the state of the museum, which contained what they called "the Rarities belonging to the College;" and, to do this the more effectually, they appointed a committee for the express purpose. Upon 19th May, "Bailie Linn reported from the committee, appointed by the council to take inspection of the rarities purchased by the town, and given by the college, now standing in the high common hall. They find that there are four presses, whereof two large ones, one in the east side of the hall, another on the west side, both open with one key, with an inscription on that press on the east side, "*Senatores' populusque Edinensis Academiae Parens et Fautor.*" As also another press on the west side of the hall, with Dr Sibbald's name upon it, having put some fossils, vegetables, and animals therein, whereof he keeps the key, and promises to fill it up. One press within the wall on the east side, wherein there are several manuscripts,

some rarities, sent by the keeper of the rarities of Oxford in compliment to the museum, and some also given by Mr. Paterson, the present keeper. The committee inquiring if the keeper had any catalogue or inventory of the rarities, told them he never received any, but had composed one by himself; by which they were necessitated to receive the rarities as they lay in several presses, which the committee saw, conform to the catalogue given in; and, by the wideness of the wires of each press, students and others coming to see them, by putting in their fingers into the holes, did disorder, and possibly might embezzle some of them: Particularly, there was wanting a coraline substance growing upon a piece of silver, much like a Spanish Cob. To remedy this, it is the committee's opinion that the wires should be made more close. Likeas, there are two cabinets and chests of drawers, whereof one contains the *materia medica*, in three drawers; every drawer is divided in fifty divisions. They are almost full. The other cabinet the keeper told the committee he never saw it opened, and knows not what is in it; and the committee wanting the key, had no access to it. The committee having seen these rarities, and having seen the condition they are in, finds it needful that one should be appointed by the council to take the inspection of them, the present keeper having demitted. It was the committee's opinion, that seeing there are several presses of books and maps, taliduces, speaking trumpet, and mathematical instruments, lying loose in the upper hall, pertaining

to the college, and under the charge of Mr Henderson, bibliothecarius, it was more convenient that he should be appointed, if the council think fit, to take care of the rarities; it being very inconvenient that two persons in one house, having two distinct charges, should have access by two several keys, to come and go as they please; and that if the said Mr Henderson shall be appointed, that he also be ordained to make two paper books, to insert the catalogues therein; the one to be given in to the council, and the other to remain with himself, that whatever additional rarities come in, he may fill up both the books every year. It is also the committee's opinion, that the rarities purchased in the time of Mr Henderson's father, such as the woman's horn set in silver, and the skeleton, &c. be registrated in the catalogue by themselves, and all the mathematical instruments, pictures, &c. as the report under the hands of the committee bears."* The council also gave orders to break open the chest of drawers, and also discovered a parcel of atheistical books, which the late principal, Dr Gilbert Rule, had caused to sequestrate from the others, and had given the key to Mr Massie, the senior regent. These were delivered to the librarian, with injunctions that none of them should be given out without an order from the council.

No professor had ever been admitted a member of the *Senatus Academicus*, without being appointed by

* Counc. Regist. vol. xxxvii. p. 485.

the Town-Council. A Mr Cumming, however, had possessed sufficient interest with government to procure the institution of a professorship of ecclesiastical history, independently of the magistrates, and founded by the crown. This seems to have happened some time in 1702, because both he and Dupont, the French minister within the college,* qualified before the magistrates, along with the professors, on 10th November of that year. The patrons were now placed in an awkward situation. They had the

* Upon the revocation of the edict of Nantz, in 1685, a small colony of French protestants emigrated from Picardy to Scotland, and first introduced the manufacture of silk and cambric into this country. Another party of refugees from Bourdeaux settled within about three miles south of Edinburgh; and the village is still vulgarly called *Burdyhouse*. Both of these were accommodated with houses built by the town of Edinburgh, which was called Picardy, at the head of Leith Walk. The Council also gave them the privilege of assembling for public worship in the lower common hall of the college. Some persons, still living, remember when they regularly met for this purpose; and the whole service was conducted in the French language. In the course of little more than two generations, the knowledge of French was lost, and the practice consequently discontinued. In the year 1693, King William granted to the town of Edinburgh a duty of two pennies upon the pint of ale, for a certain number of years. By this act of parliament, the town was burdened with the sum of 2000 merks yearly, for the benefit of the ministers of the French congregation. Upon the death of one of the clergymen, the magistrates agreed to give the survivor 1500, the widow of his former colleague 200, and 300 merks to the precentor, who, in 1713, was a student of divinity from Francquer, in Friesland, provided he would assist the Greek professor in teaching his students.—Counc. Regist. vol. xli. p. 73.

power of preventing any subject from endowing a professorship in their university without their concurrence. But the case was different when it was founded by the crown. Their own patronage was derived directly from the crown; so that it was absurd to suppose the crown had no right to establish professorships of any branch of literature and science in any university in the empire. They were taken by surprise; that is, government did not consult them respecting the propriety or expediency of the measure; and they felt themselves greatly at a loss what line of conduct they ought to follow. The professors, who, as has been mentioned, were at variance with the council at this time, recognized at once the validity of Mr Cumming's appointment; but the patrons were desirous to proceed with caution. I entertain no doubt that it was in consequence of the interference of government, that so strict a scrutiny at this time was made into the real state of the university. At the same meeting, therefore, the Lord Provost acquainted the council, "that Mr —— Cumming was come into the college as a master of some profession, and that it was fit to see his gift, and know his profession, that the council may give rules and directions thereanent. The council ordains Mr Cumming to give in his gift to their clerk to that effect." It appears that this requisition was not complied with; for, upon the 22d October, the salaries of the professors were ordered to be stopped,

till they produced their acts of admission.* This could only be designed as a check upon the manner in which the professor of ecclesiastical history had been admitted; and they calculated that they could thus indirectly obtain the information they required. Whether any further proceedings took place with respect to Mr Cumming's appointment, is not known. This was the first *Regius* professorship, as far as I have been able to learn, not in Edinburgh only, but in any Scotish university. There are only three *regius* professors in Cambridge, viz. of divinity, of civil law, and of physic; which were founded by Henry VIII. in 1540. The introduction of so novel a plan into Scotland could not fail to excite some degree of anxiety in the minds of those who were the patrons. This professor has still continued to be appointed by the crown. Though, like other *regius* professors, he is introduced to the *Senatus Academicus* by the college bailie, it is under protest.

Upon 12th May 1703, Mr William Carstares was elected principal of the university, in place of Dr Gilbert Rule. This eminent man, who acted so conspicuous a part in Scotish affairs, both in church and state, was born in 1649, at Cathcart, a small village in the vicinity of Glasgow. When very young, he was sent to a school at Ormiston, in East Lothian, then kept by Mr Sinclair, and which, un-

* Counc. Regist. vol. xxxvii. p. 664.

der his care, had attained to great celebrity,* it being attended by the sons of many of the nobility and gentry of Scotland who afterwards made a distinguished figure in life. Mr Carstares formed at this time an intimacy with several of these young gentlemen, which continued through life, and to this he was wont to ascribe, in a great measure, his future fortunes. He acquired at this seminary, not only a perfect knowledge of the elements of the Latin language, and a facility of expressing himself with fluency and elegance in it, but also a strong taste for classical learning. In due time, he was entered a member of the university of Edinburgh. The regent under whom he studied was Mr, afterwards Sir William Paterson, and clerk to the privy council of Scotland.† He made great proficiency under this master, and regularly attended the usual course for four years, so as to be ready to enter the divinity hall. But the distracted state of Scotland, and the high hand with which the episcopalian party carried their measures, disgusted the father of Mr Carstares; and he felt disinclined to allow his son to go through the preparatory course of study, before he could be

* This was the brother of Mr George Sinclair, who was admitted a regent in the university of Edinburgh in 1665.

† Mr Carstares must have been at least in his nineteenth year at this time, because Mr Paterson was admitted a regent upon 20th September 1667.—Counc. Regist. vol. xxv. p. 42. The absurd practice, now so common, of sending children to the university, was then, and for a very long period after, unknown.

legally entitled to procure liberty to preach. Being attached to the presbyterian party, both in religion and politics, he was anxious that young Carstares should adopt the same opinions; and, for this purpose, he sent him to the university of Utrecht to study divinity. He had an opportunity also of benefiting by the lectures of the celebrated Graevius, who was in the vigour of his faculties and zenith of his reputation. The taste and critical skill of this eminent scholar gave a new impulse to Mr Carstares in pursuing his classical studies, though he did not permit these to encroach upon his application to theology. He studied Hebrew under Leusden, and divinity under Herman Witsius, who were then two of the most celebrated professors in Europe. When, or by whom, he was licensed to preach the gospel none of his biographers have mentioned, neither do they seem to have known. Episcopacy was, in Scotland, very different from what it is in the Church of Rome or the Church of England. It was of a mixed nature; and so violent were the prejudices even of the great body of the clergy in favour of presbytery, that the most unrelenting persecution could not eradicate it. It is probable, however, that he took his licence in Holland, as there was a great correspondence between that country and Scotland in religious matters.

The recommendations which Mr Carstares had carried along with him to some persons who were in the confidence of the Prince of Orange, combined with his excellent talents and enterprising temper,

speedily procured him an introduction to a personal interview with William, who, though cold and reserved, was immediately struck with the acuteness, extensive views, and political information, of his new acquaintance. In a short time he was entrusted in the most confidential manner with the prince's sentiments respecting the important political transactions which then agitated Europe. This confidence suffered no interruption till the death of William. Mr Carstares was employed in several important transactions by his master, in conducting of which he was exposed to considerable personal hazard. He was connected with Russell, Sydney, and others; and an order for his apprehension was issued, accusing him of being "art and part" in the plot which brought these illustrious characters to the scaffold. He was at last seized in Kent, and thrown into prison. Upon petitioning the Court of King's Bench for his *Habeas Corpus*, he was sent to Scotland, and was twice put to the torture, on the 5th and 6th September 1684.* "A respectable gentleman," we are informed, "in the town of Greenock, a relation of the celebrated Principal Carstares, has in his possession the identical *thumbikins* with which the principal was severely tortured."† After the revolution, the privy council of Scotland had made Mr Carstares a present of this instrument.

* Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i. p. 302.

† Statist. Acc. vol. v. p. 583.

Being relieved from imprisonment, he repaired to Holland, and was graciously received by the prince, who made him one of his chaplains, and got him appointed minister of the English protestant congregation at Leyden. On William's invading England, Mr Carstares was required to attend him; and he was shortly after nominated chaplain for Scotland, to which were annexed all the emoluments of the chapel royal, an office which he ever after retained.

In 1702, a short time before Dr Rule's death, the principal's salary was limited to 1600 merks, to which in future no addition was to be made. The funds of the college were now so deficient, as not nearly to defray the expence of the establishment. The patrons, therefore, felt themselves under the necessity of explicitly stating this. They, nevertheless, proceeded to reform the university, and to correct some abuses which had crept in. At the inauguration of Mr Carstares, the laws of the college were read, particularly that section which respected the duty of the principal; and, at the same meeting of the Town-council, it was proposed that the whole laws should be revised.

Mr Andrew Massie, who has been mentioned more than once, thought proper, at the beginning of the session of 1703, to give in his demission as regent, to the patrons, without assigning any reason. He claimed, in pretty peremptory terms, his right to do so, if he thought proper; from which I am led to conjecture, that he had not found his return to the

college so agreeable as he expected.* His successor was Mr Robert Stewart, son of Sir Thomas Stewart of Coltness, who afterwards succeeded to the title and estate; and a descendant of his, Sir J. Stewart Denham, is at present one of the oldest generals in the army, and colonel of the second regiment of dragoons, Scots Greys. Mr Stewart was not required to submit to a comparative trial. His qualifications were well known; and, besides, his uncle, Sir James Stewart, was at this time Lord Advocate of Scotland.

There can be little doubt that his Lordship's influence contributed essentially towards procuring the principality for Mr Carstares. They had both been attached to the Earl of Argyll's party, and, consequently, opposed the politics of Charles II. and had resided at the court of the Prince of Orange when it was dangerous to remain at home. Mr Stewart, however, had forfeited William's favour, in consequence of the part he acted in regard to *the dispensing power* proposed by James. He was afterwards reconciled to him, and promoted to be King's Advocate for Scotland. He continued in the same office, under Queen Anne, till 1709,—so that, for about twenty years, he discharged the important duties of that public situation, and during a very critical

* A person of the same name signed the act of the Faculty of Advocates in 1710, augmenting Ruddiman the grammarian's salary as librarian.—Chalmers' Life of Rud. App. No. III.

period. He is represented as having been one of the best civilians of the age, and a man of fine natural parts.*

A person who has not minutely examined the history of the state of Scotland at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and has not had an opportunity of perusing the ephemeral productions which those turbulent times produced, can hardly form an idea how keenly the whole Scotish nation entered into any question which respected the public incorporated bodies of the state. Scotland, at that time, resembled a burgh, in which small confederacy there is a very rapid communication of such intelligence as relates to their individual concerns. From the paucity and little variety of topics of discussion connected with their national or provincial affairs, they eagerly seized upon any subject capable of affording matter of disputation. The misunderstanding between the patrons and the *Senatus Academicus*, accordingly, excited great interest among the inhabitants of Edinburgh and its vicinity. The college of the city, which had reared so many youths who made a distinguished figure in the history of the literature of Scotland, was the subject of their general conversation. This naturally led to the *economy of the college*; and, at the same time, shewed how conversant the community were with the topics which were generally discussed in that learned seminary.

* Carstares' State Papers, p. 96.

Many causes, however, concurred at this time to excite disturbances in the university. The patrons and regents were not heartily agreed; and the students naturally took a part in the dispute. Dr Rule, the late principal, through old age, had been incapable of exercising the authority with which he was invested, and that, during the whole term of his being principal, he had used with such discretion. The unfortunate Darien expedition excited discontent among all ranks, to which the question of the union of the two kingdoms, that had already begun to be agitated, greatly contributed. The friends of the exiled family were both numerous and powerful in Scotland; and the feuds or dissensions which the question of legitimacy, and the divine right of kings, alone produced, were transferred to our schools and colleges. The youth, inheriting the prejudices of their parents, entered with equal keenness into the disputes. These were some of the causes which occasioned the following minute.

"*May* 17. 1704.

"The council, taking to their consideration, that of late the good order and discipline of the college is much decayed, and the power and authority of the regents is by many of the scholars not duly regarded, whereby several disorders are committed, which does exceedingly reflect upon the government of the college. In consideration whereof, the council appoints the magistrates to meet with the ministers of

Edinburgh and the principal of the college (being now in the beginning of his office), to consult and advise what proper methods may be used towards the re-establishing of order and discipline in the said college."

The proceedings which ensued, it must be confessed, discover sufficient irritation on both sides. The records of the college were called for; and the most minute remarks made upon whatever they conceived was liable to objections. Some of these are sufficiently trifling; while there are others, which shew that proper attention had not been paid to record accurately the transactions of the meetings of the *Senatus Academicus*. The adoption of the word *Faculty* into their minutes was animadverted upon with great severity, and seemed to revive the dispute which existed a short time before. The council, with the concurrence of the ministers of Edinburgh, ordered the record to be properly transcribed, under the superintendance of a committee. "To which the reverend principal, in name of Mr W. Law, W. Scott, and R. Stewart, professors of philosophy, and Mr Laurence Dundas, professor of humanity, craved liberty to be present, that, in respect the said book had been long in their possession, as one of the college records, and for their exoneration at the hands of the commission for visitation of schools and colleges, to whom the said book was once produced; therefore, he himself, in their name, and with all submission to the magistrates and town-council,

their honourable patrons, desired the clerk, for their vindication, might mark that it was not with their will the book was delivered up."

Some unpleasant recriminations took place; and an anonymous memoir was presented to the council, expressed in very unwarrantable language, to which, very properly, no answer was ever made. Both parties, who were friendly to the prosperity of the college, were fully convinced of the necessity of the laws being new modelled. After many consultations, the following were enacted upon 5th September 1704.

"1. The college meetings begin with October. 2. In the winter season, the students are to meet in their classes before seven in the morning; and, after prayer, the rolls are called. Absents are to be marked, and fined at the regent's pleasure. No students, therefore, at such times, or any other appointed for meeting, may walk idly in the courts, or be present at any game, *viz.* the hand-ball, billiards, or bowls, or the like, under the penalty of threepence for the first and second time, and the double for the third, to be exacted of each student's transgression. 3. On the Lord's Day, the students are to convene in their classes presently after sermon, to be exercised in their sacred lessons. 4. The censor of each class is to write two rolls of names, and to affix to each student's name his residence, that, if any withdraw, inquiry may be made at the landlord. One of the rolls is for the primar, and the other for the regent's use. 5. None may do or speak wickedly, wrong-

fully, or obscenely. Such, therefore, as profane God's sacred name, and vent horrid oaths, or nasty or obscene talk, are to pay sixpence the first time, and thereafter to be severely chastised. 6. All students are to carry respectfully to the professors, and to obey their injunctions. Those who transgress, are to be fined, first in a penny, and then twopence. 7. The students are obliged to discourse always in Latin; as also, to speak modestly, chastely, courteously, and in no manner uncivilly or quarrelsome, but to entertain good, profitable, and pious conferences. Those who transgress, especially such as speak English within the college, are liable the first time in a penny; the next in twopence. 8. All are to be diligent and painful in their studies; neither must any interrupt one another, by entering into his class or chamber, or earnestly hearken or listen at doors or windows, except the censors. 9. None may absent from the college, or go out of it, without his regent's licence. 10. Neither may any go out of the class, without leave of the regent, or of the censor in his absence. And who goes out by permission, is presently to return; for upon no account must he tarry. Those who transgress must be amerced in twopence. 11. Every one is to shew good example to others, by his piety, goodness, modesty, and diligence in learning, as becomes the disciple of Christ. 12. Let none molest another by word, lies, &c. or any way wrong or reproach any; otherwise to be fined at pleasure. 13. Let all strife,

reproaches, and what is dishonest, be removed. 14. Every one is obliged to warn those who do any thing blameable in a friendly way, as becomes a Christian; and if the person thus admonished do not amend, he is to mark and delate him. 15. None may in word or deed avenge himself when wronged or reproached, but is to complain to the primar or master of the student offending. Those who transgress shall be fined at discretion. 16. None may irreverently pass by, behold, or speak, to persons of respect, but in good manners. 17. Let none in public behave himself otherwise than gravely and modestly, as becomes students of good letters. 18. And let all shun bad company, as a corrupting plague. 19. None may carry sword, dagger, guns, and such arms, or forfeit threepence. 20. None in the evening may walk in the streets. 21. Let none throw at glass windows, spoil or abuse the walls, seats, forms, desks, pulpits, &c. by breaking or any violent usage; but let all or whatever is in the college be preserved whole, entire, and clean. 22. The censors are to be faithful in their duty, to admonish delinquents, and to delate them. And if any of them act negligently, in concealing one another's faults, he shall find, to his great dishonour, to have transferred the same to himself; for he will be liable to that fine which the fault concealed deserved. And if any shall threaten or do harm to the censor in doing his office, he shall pay sixpence *toties quoties*. 23. Who transgress any way, shall be punished accordingly. 24.

Who are arraigned guilty of rebellion, sedition, or tumults, and ringleaders of any such notable wickedness, are first of all obnoxious to the fines and punishments denounced by her Majesty's privy council, and thereafter to be extruded and cast out of the college. 25. None may stand in the gate at any time, or forfeit fourpence; neither use ill those who enter or pass, or incur the sum of sixpence; nor may any play or walk in view of the professors, otherwise he shall be fined arbitrarily. 26. Let none throw stones or snow-balls, or incur a fine at pleasure. 27. Let none play or lay around any who pass, or forfeit sixpence. 28. The principal and masters being informed that the custom of playing at dice (owing its rise to infamous bankrupts) has lately crept into the college, and knowing what hazard and mischief those portend to studies, piety, and good manners, therefore, they strictly discharge students to use cards, dice, raffling, or any such games of lottery; and enact, that whoever is guilty and convicted of these unlawful games, he shall pay half-a-crown the first time, then a crown, the third time a crown and a half, for the use of the library; and thereafter the said person convicted and fined cannot be reduced or reformed, he is to be extruded with disgrace, as one lost and incurable, and a corrupter of the youth. 29. None may enter taverns, ale-houses, or incur an arbitrary fine. 30. Those who neglect to go to church, shall forfeit sixpence each time. 31. The censors in each class are carefully to mark those who speak English, or who

curse, swear, or talk sinfully or obscene, or any ways contravene the laws foresaid, that so they may be punished according to the offence given."*

These laws are so minute, that they require no illustration; but they constitute an excellent commentary upon the state of society in Edinburgh at that time, and how great necessity there was for reform in the college. They were drawn up by Principal Carstares, who, instead of having forfeited, seems to have gained in favour with the Council; because, upon 11th September, he was presented to the ministerial charge of the Greyfriars Church; and, in consequence of his uniting this with his office in the university, he was allowed two thousand two hundred merks as salary. In about three years after he was preferred to the High Church.

Mr James Sutherland, who had been professor of botany for thirty years, and who had shewn such industry for so long a period, and knowledge of his profession, from want of proper encouragement most probably, "had resolved to live more retiredly, and to quit the said profession, and apply himself to the study of medals."† His doing so, however, gave great offence to the patrons. Upon 8th May 1706, Dr Charles Preston was elected his successor. He does not appear to have delivered formal lectures. The following advertisement is the first which I have been able to discover.

* Counc. Regist. vol. xxxviii. p. 129. † Ibid. p. 533.

"*Edinburgh Courant, May* 16. 1707.

"Doctor Preston teaches his lessons of botany in the Physick Garden at Edinburgh, the months of May, June, July, and August 1707. Therefore, all gentlemen and others, who are desirous to learn the said science of botany, may repair to the said garden, where attendance will be given."

From the manner in which this is expressed, one is apt to suppose that the garden was kept open for such visitors as were disposed to be instructed; and that either the Doctor, or his assistants, were in attendance to communicate such information as might be required. Botany did not in those days deserve to be called a science. It consisted of little more than annexing certain names to plants which were recognized by their most obvious qualities, to which were subjoined some observations concerning their medical properties, and whether they were indigenous or exotic plants. Scientific arrangement was then totally unknown in this science. The achievement of this great work was reserved for the immortal Linnæus, whose genius first invented a system, by which, from well defined properties, a scientific generalization was introduced into the study,—the introduction of which into the schools of philosophy he took the best method of securing, by publishing a system of botany founded upon it, and bestowing

much greater pains in giving accurate descriptions of plants than any of his predecessors. Dr Preston continued to discharge the duties of this professorship till 1711. He died in the course of this year.

The union of the kingdoms of England and Scotland forms a most remarkable era in their political and literary history. From the period of the accession of James to the English crown, the accomplishment of this object had always been a favourite measure with every monarch; and the government did not fail to employ the most vigorous means to accomplish that end; but, in consequence of the jealousies that existed between the two nations, these efforts had been uniformly unsuccessful. Cromwell, with that energy which distinguished his government, by a single edict, and without consulting the feelings of his subjects, or the propriety of the thing, decreed that a general union of the three kingdoms should exist in all time coming. At the restoration, however, things reverted to their old channel; and, notwithstanding the zeal of Charles and of William, their endeavours were ineffectual. It was reserved for the reign of Queen Anne to accomplish a measure of state policy, which has been fraught with more beneficial consequences to Great Britain than any national reform which has ever since been adopted.

The universities of Scotland were no less benefited by the union than the other incorporated bodies; and, in certain respects, they were more interested, and derived peculiar advantages, which, in process

of time, have greatly contributed to their prosperity. Before that period, the intercourse between the two countries was very inconsiderable. By the treaty of union, sixty-one Scotish members represented that nation in the British parliament, who, by their necessary residence in England during a portion of the year, and their constituting a part of the legislative body, must have had their attention forcibly drawn to the great difference between the two countries, in many respects, which they could not fail to communicate to their friends at home. Language, one of the most powerful of human engines, would thus be improved, both as it respected its use in transacting the ordinary business of life, and was employed by Scotish authors in their works; and access thus afforded to those sources of information, respecting the progress of the arts and sciences, which were not to be procured in their own country.

That these effects were instantaneously produced, it would be absurd to expect, and far more so to affirm. All great changes are brought about by slow and imperceptible degrees; and their progress is so insensible, that they are in general thoroughly established before it is well perceived. The country was at that time divided into two great parties, the Whigs and Tories; the former of whom approved, whilst the latter disapproved, of the union. It would be invidious to institute a comparison, or to attempt to appreciate the comparative literary merits of either. Each party severally claimed the superiority. It is pleasing, however, to observe, that between Dr Pit-

cairn and Principal Carstares, two of the most distinguished scholars of that age, though of very opposite opinions upon politics, the greatest friendship, and even intimacy, existed. Notwithstanding Pitcairn's strong attachment to Jacobitism both in church and state, he was permitted, even after the revolution, to retain the titular office of professor of medicine in the university, in consequence of the very high reputation he enjoyed as a physician. Carstares was, therefore, officially his superior. It was then the custom for the principal to introduce the business of the session by a Latin oration, which was delivered before the professors and students in the common hall. Dr Pitcairn regularly attended; and we are informed, that "he used to observe, that when Mr Carstares began to address his audience, he could not help fancying himself transported to the forum, in the days of ancient Rome."*

Principal Carstares, whose general character is so well known, as one of the most consummate politicians of modern Europe, took great interest in every thing that related to the prosperity of the seminary over which he presided with so much credit to himself. But his benevolence was not confined within that comparatively narrow channel. His generous disposition embraced the welfare also of the other sister universities. He, therefore, made use of his great influence with administration, to extend its

* *Vid.* The life of Carstares, prefixed to his State Papers, &c. by Dr M'Cormick, p. 70.

protection and encouragement to these learned bodies; and thus essentially promoted the cause of Scotish literature. The Principal certainly deserves the greatest credit for his interference in this business; and as the sums appropriated for the augmentation of the salaries of the principals and professors of the universities have been annually renewed, and as the original benefaction was procured confessedly by his means, he is justly entitled to be considered as the greatest benefactor (of a subject) to those institutions that his country ever produced. Though his biographer does not mention it, yet I entertain no doubt that it was through him also that, in 1693, each of the Scotish universities obtained a gift from the crown of L.300 *per annum* out of the bishops rents in Scotland. I infer this from the undoubted fact, that King William adopted no measure in regard to Scotland, without having previously consulted Mr Carstares; and his election to the principality afterwards, is also a proof that such appointment was agreeable to him; and that, after the bustle of an active life, he had still looked forward with pleasant associations to the enjoyment of study and retirement.

An attempt to invade Scotland was made by the Pretender early in the year 1708, which fortunately proved unsuccessful; but it excited the greatest astonishment and terror in the minds of those who favoured the union. The university of Edinburgh was among the first to address her Ma-

jesty upon this event, and to testify their zeal and loyalty to her person and government, and their fixed resolutions to withstand and oppose the Popish Pretender. This address was most favourably received at court. Mr Carstares was elected moderator of the ensuing general assembly, and wrote the address of that venerable court to the Queen,* which was only an echo of the former. At what season of the year he went to London I know not; but he was there upon September 30, when the commission of assembly was met, and the session of the college about to commence; so that his business must have been very urgent. It is probable, therefore, that government were very desirous of a personal interview with him, in order to obtain full information respecting the state of the country; and, in particular, how the presbyterians stood affected. At this critical period, when the union had existed only for a few months, the advice of such a man was of the utmost importance. It was upon this occasion that he, among other judicious and politic suggestions, recommended the patronage of literature, of which the universities were the public depositaries. The Queen entrusted him with the sole distribution of her bounty to the university of Edinburgh; but he declined receiving any augmentation to his own salary; and, indeed, he stood in no need of it.

The principal's paternal care of the university

* Carstares, p. 765.

was most conspicuous during the whole term of his presidency. At an early period of his connexion with the college, but how early is uncertain, he projected a plan of accommodation for such students as might repair to Edinburgh from England, for the benefit of prosecuting their education. There can be no doubt that this proposal principally respected the dissenters. Drs Calamy and Williams, at that time the two most leading men among that respectable body, who were both men of talents, and of considerable fortune, had taken their degrees at Edinburgh; and, it is probable, heartily approved of the plan.

The history of the education of English dissenting clergymen is little known in this country; and, indeed, after a good deal of inquiry, instituted for the express purpose of obtaining information upon the subject, I am led to think that it has never been properly investigated even in England. Many of those christians, who were nick-named puritans by Saunders the jesuit, and who were the founders of the dissenting body, were men of distinguished abilities, and of very extensive learning. The accounts concerning some of the most eminent are extremely imperfect; and almost all that we know of them is, that their works are valuable, and discover an erudition and critical skill in the learned languages, to which few in modern times can lay claim; but at what seminary they were educated is altogether unknown. The oaths which are administered

to students, previous to being admitted members of some of the English colleges, constitute an impervious barrier, amounting to complete exclusion. The Bartholomew act, as it is called, passed in 1662, by which two thousand of the ablest and best men of the church of England were deprived of their livings. Those of their successors who could afford it, were chiefly educated at the universities in Holland, and a very few in Scotland. By far the greatest number were instructed by private ministers, who, through zeal for the cause, taught the languages and philosophy at their own houses.* By degrees the plan was further extended; and public academies were opened, not only for students of theology, but they admitted also young gentlemen who were solicitous to be possessed of the benefit of a liberal education. It may be proper to subjoin, that the theological academies at present established are exceedingly respectable, and are solely confined to the education of students of divinity.†

Principal Carstares' proposal was an entire innovation upon the system of education pursued in all the Scotish universities. Complaints, it appears, had

* A similar plan was adopted in Ireland. *Vid.* The Loyalty of Presbyterians in Great Britain and Ireland, by James Kilpatrick, minister of Belfast, 1713, 4to.

† I am ignorant of the precise number of Englishmen who have bursaries at the Scotish universities. There may probably be from six to ten.

been made by the English students of the want of proper accommodation in Edinburgh. Poor as the buildings of the city were at that time, it is hardly conceivable that a few English students could not be accommodated with comfortable lodgings in the city, and with every other necessary convenience they might require. The truth seems to be, that it was not the want of accommodation in the city, but within the college of Edinburgh, of which they complained. It was the custom, in the English colleges, for the students to reside within the walls; so it had been in Edinburgh, and in the other Scotish universities. It is probable, therefore, that it was an imitation of this practice, which was formerly universal, that they were anxious to introduce; and they might imagine that a greater degree of respectability would thereby be acquired, and the character of the new institution stand higher in the estimation of their countrymen.

Subscriptions were to be applied for from the whole body of English dissenters; and the sum collected was to be appropriated to the purpose of enlarging the buildings of the college, so as to render it capable of accommodating all the English students. It must be admitted, that the only account of the Principal's plan is very brief, and, consequently, very general; and ought, on that account, not to be subjected to a very rigorous examination. But one cannot help observing, that the English dissenters, even at that time, formed a very numerous

body; and if the number of their students bore any proportion to the other members of the university, the scheme must have been very soon found to be impracticable,* not to mention other objections. An English tutor was to preside at the common table; and he, together with proper assistants, was to be the guardian of the morals of the students, assist them in their academical exercises, and instruct them in such branches of education as were not taught in the university.

We may rest assured, that any plan proposed by Principal Carstares had been most maturely digested; and that it was not only plausible in itself, but arranged after such a skilful manner, as to render it most probable that it would succeed, and be agreeable to all parties. His education and long residence abroad, as well as in England, afforded him opportunities of being well acquainted with the economy of seminaries of instruction, and with those regulations which were deemed most expedient for the proper management of such institutions. While in England, also, he maintained a close connexion with the leaders among the dissenters, whose political consequence, and principles respecting the nature of government, had contributed so much to the elevation of William to the throne. He thus became acquainted with their most private sentiments, not only respecting great political questions, but with

* In 1720, fifty-seven students attended the prelections of Dr Monro alone.

their opinions upon many matters which were nearly related to their own society. Among so enlightened a body of men, it is impossible to suppose that the education of their students, upon which their respectability in the state, as well as in the church, so much depended, did not frequently form the subject of their deliberations. It is well known that, at the accession of the Prince of Orange, their prospects seemed to open very propitiously; and many schemes for the more complete establishment and prosperity of the dissenting interest at large were then in agitation. These, and other reasons, it is probable, had attracted the Principal's more peculiar attention, after he had been appointed to the superintendence of a Scotish university.

From the short sketch of the plan which has been above detailed, it evidently appears that it was designed to be an institution subsidiary to the university, or rather to be incorporated with it. At the same time, it must be acknowledged that, from the very nature of the institution, it may be inferred that, though not altogether independent of academical police, certain immunities were bestowed, which constituted it a perfectly separate society. A strong connexion was designed always to subsist between it and England; so strong, that the parent stock was on all occasions to be recognized, and the students were to consider themselves as a colony which it had sent out. In short, it was to be understood, that, though naturalized in Scotland to a certain ex-

tent, they were nevertheless natives of the mother country; and ought to look upon themselves in the light of catechumens, by whom the dissenting churches were to be supplied with men of piety and talents. The sons of gentlemen of private fortune, who were either intended for the business of civil life, or who did not propose to themselves any particular object, were (as has been already mentioned), not excluded from the benefit to be derived from the institution, but their franchise was to be considered as only subordinate to the principal object of the establishment.

The precise objects of bringing down an English tutor, with proper assistants, are difficult to determine. It cannot be doubted that one principal intention of this arrangement was, that the body of English dissenters might be satisfied that the direction of the whole, even in its most minute details, was under their immediate inspection, and consequently possessed a higher claim upon their patronage and support. It ought, at the same time, to be observed, that the intercourse between South and North Britain was then so little, that no accurate information respecting the manners and customs of each other was possessed by either nation. It is true the same observation cannot be applied to Principal Carstares. But he was too well acquainted with human nature, to be ignorant of the indispensible necessity of indulging mankind in innocent prejudices, proceeding from a want of knowledge, in

order to render them useful to themselves; and he was aware of the solicitude entertained by all attentive parents and relations, respecting the necessity of keeping a vigilant eye upon young men, in what was esteemed a foreign country, and at a time of life when they were most exposed to temptation. In order to gratify this very reasonable anxiety, and to obviate every objection that might be made, persons of known steadiness and learning were to accompany them to Edinburgh, and to assist the students in their academical exercises. It may be remarked, in the general, that young men, at least a very great proportion of them, are, through many causes, apt to misapply that time which ought exclusively to be devoted to their studies, and to spend it unprofitably, and sometimes to squander it in such a way as to injure both their health and morals at the same time. To guard against the hazard of such consequences, the best preventive is to take care that their time be fully occupied, and never be permitted to hang heavy on their hands; and this the diligence of a private tutor can easily accomplish. I do not affirm that a tutor or his assistants ought, in imitation of some Roman Catholic colleges on the continent, to attend their pupils when engaged in their innocent diversions.* The same end can be

* A great number of the French and Italian colleges have country seats attached to their seminaries, whither the youth repair during the time of vacation. Some years ago, a gentleman informed me, that

accomplished without so strict a regimen, which has a tendency to excite disagreeable ideas in the mind.

It is an acknowledged truth, that instruction in the learned languages, and education in general, is much more difficult to be obtained in England, even at this day, than it is in Scotland. The public schools continue to be pretty stationary in Scotland since the reformation, in as far as respects the method of teaching Greek and Latin; and they have most commonly been well taught. But, in England, there was not the same facility of instruction, particularly for the sons of dissenters. Perhaps, therefore, it was the consciousness of this class of students of the defect under which they laboured, from the necessity of their situation, which occasioned this proposal. They could thus be enabled to keep pace with their fellow students in the same class; and this redoubled application could not fail materially to accelerate the progress of their studies.

But one grand cause of tutors being appointed was, the manner in which young men were and still are educated in England. They commenced the study of theology along with their academical course; and their attention to the languages and to philosophy never interrupted the former. Their attendance

the country-house and vineyards belonging to the college at which he was educated at Rome, were upon the very spot where Cicero's celebrated villa of Tusculanum formerly stood. He went there in 1756, and remained for twelve years; and is a man of great probity. How many striking reflections does not this produce!

at a Scotish divinity hall was thus rendered unnecessary; and the most important part of their education was to be conducted after the English fashion. So that they only changed the *place* of study; every thing else was to proceed after the form established in England.

Permission has frequently been granted to persons, who were not members of the *Senatus Academicus*, to teach in the college. Thus, French and drawing were taught in this manner for some years; and, at a very early period, so was the Hebrew language. No objections, therefore, seem to have been anticipated from the honourable patrons. But the death of Principal Carstares overturned the whole project. It is impossible even to conjecture what influence it might have produced upon the university and upon the dissenters. It is to be regretted that the experiment had not been made.

Principal Carstares was one of the most eminent characters of the age in which he lived. He had mixed much with the most celebrated politicians both in Holland and in this country; and appears always to have maintained his reputation for integrity in situations in which he was exposed to great temptations. He was well acquainted with public affairs. Possessed naturally of an active mind, he was most assiduous in executing any business which was entrusted to him. Even his enemies respected him; and those who, like himself, favoured the revolution, reposed the most unbounded confidence in

him. He managed Scotish affairs with such discretion, during the reigns of William and Anne, that he made few public enemies; and such was his knowledge of human nature, his prudence, and conciliating temper, that he was held in the highest estimation by those who still adhered to the House of Stuart. So great was his influence both in church and state, that he was generally called *Cardinal* Carstares. He was eminent for his private virtues; and, as the head of an university, he conducted himself with such moderation and good sense, and, at the same time, entered with such ardour into whatever regarded its interests, that he not only was the object of universal esteem and respect with his colleagues, but all connected with the college looked up to him as a father and benefactor. Principal Carstares died in 1715, while holding the office, for the fourth time, of moderator of the general assembly,—the highest honour which the Church of Scotland has in its power to confer. There is a portrait of him in the large hall, presented, on the death of Mrs Carstares, by her executor, Mr Charles Macky, professor of universal history.

The professors in general remained only for a short time in the college about the beginning of the last century. The smallness of the appointments (as has been mentioned) is the only reason which can be assigned. The greater number had been intended for the church, and licenced in the establishment. A church living was more valuable; and, in those

days, was esteemed a more respectable situation in life than a professorship in any of the universities. Their salaries which were allowed by the Town-council were small; the number of students inconsiderable; and the honorary which they paid, when any was required, was one guinea. The state of society in this country is now so materially altered, that, generally speaking, the emoluments of a professor in Edinburgh are much superior to those of a country clergyman.

Sir Robert Sibbald, among his multifarious endeavours to benefit his native country, proposed to teach natural history and medicine during the course of the same year* (1706). He was now far advanced in life; but his ardour in the cultivation of science, and his zeal to promote its progress, were still unabated. He designated himself by the modest name of *Philiatris*, which literally signifies *studious of medicine*; and we are informed that he had successfully practised medicine for forty-three years. This ascertains that he had graduated in 1663.

Sir Robert was to teach these sciences during spring *in private colleges*. It is necessary to observe that, in Oxford and Cambridge, and in the foreign universities, such as Gottingen, &c. the professors are, according to the statutes, obliged to deliver at least *one public* course of lectures. This is considered, and actually is, a mere form; the number of lectures

* *Vid.* Advertisement, vol. i. p. 376.

being as few as they chuse to make them. They thus take a formal possession of the professorship, and are entitled to the enjoyment of all the rights and privileges of the university. They begin to teach in real earnest in their private colleges. These the students frequent, and for admission to which they pay the usual fees; and it is from these that the revenues of those who undergo the drudgery of teaching are principally derived. In the English universities, some of the professorships are so richly endowed, that the professors have not aught for these hundred years. It was in imitation of the custom abroad that Sir Robert adopted his proposed method of teaching.

The qualifications which he required from the students, before they could be admitted to his class, were such as to induce few to make application to him to be enrolled as his pupils. They were to be "well acquainted with the Latin and Greek languages, all philosophy, and the principles of mathematics; and certificates from the different professors under whom they had studied were to be produced." The lectures were, according to the universal practice, to be delivered in Latin.

It would no doubt be very desirable that those who devote themselves to the study of medicine should be distinguished both for their proficiency in literature and science. These preliminary studies constitute an admirable introduction to their medical pursuits; but it may be fairly called in question

whether so strict regulations as Sir Robert Sibbald's be indispensibly necessary, or rather whether any professor of medicine can reasonably expect the generality of his students to be possessed of such qualifications. By restrictions of this kind, the cultivation of the science is materially retarded, because men of genius are prevented from having access to the proper schools for instruction. Besides, a man like Sibbald, so enthusiastically attached to his profession, rendered himself less useful than he might have otherwise been. There can be no hesitation in admitting that he was perfectly competent to teach natural history and medicine; but whether he entered upon the task at this time cannot be ascertained.

Mr Charles Erskine had taught philosophy for some time in the university, and was one of the four regents. Upon 17th October 1707, however, he demitted this office; and presented to the Town-council a commission from the Queen, appointing him professor of public law and the law of nature and nations. The Council protested against the institution of this new professorship, because they considered it as a misapplication of the L.300 per annum which had been given to the university by King William.* One hundred pounds sterling of this donation were appropriated to the foundation of a second professor of theology, which never seems

* Counc. Regist. Ap. Ann.

to have been carried into effect (unless it had originally been intended for the primarius professor of divinity); and the remaining two hundred for the maintenance of twenty bursars of theology, at ten pounds each. Mr Erskine's salary was fixed at L.150, and paid by the exchequer; in consequence of which, fifteen of the bursars were discharged. The opposition of the patrons produced no change in the determination of government; and, accordingly, Mr Erskine was admitted to the exercise of his office upon 7th November 1707.

Natural jurisprudence, or public law, and the law of nature and nations, have engaged the attention of philosophers in every age of the world. Society could not exist in its most barbarous state, without being in possession of some general maxims or laws, founded on human nature, and derived from those necessary relations which naturally arise from men associating together. To reduce society to its primary elements, and to delineate those rules according to which the conduct of its members ought to be directed in the management both of their private and public affairs, has been a favourite subject of investigation among speculative men. It exercised the genius of Plato and Aristotle among the Greeks, and of Cicero among the Latins. Cicero's treatise *De Legibus* has been transmitted to us in a very mutilated state. The few quotations from his work *De Republica*, have induced the most competent judges to form a high idea of its excellence; but the frag-

ments are so few, that it has only excited their regret that the speculations of so great a master, upon so interesting a subject, should have perished by the hand of time.

Upon the revival of learning, the attention of its cultivators was principally directed to the editing of, and applying their skill to, the classics. Philology, by which the only true introduction to literature can be procured, was the chief object of their study. Melancthon is said to have attempted something like the philosophy of law; and a German, of the name of Benedict Winkler, published, in 1615, a work entitled of the *Principles of Law*. The science of jurisprudence received very little improvement from their efforts. At last, the celebrated Hugo Grotius directed his inquiries to the investigation of this interesting subject. He is represented to have done so, in consequence of perusing the works of Lord Bacon, and at the solicitation of Nicolas de Peiresc, councillor to the parliament of Provence,* whom Bayle calls the "Attorney General of literature." Few men were better qualified than Grotius for such an enterprize. He was possessed of strong natural sense, extraordinary acuteness, capable of the most profound reflection, his erudition very extensive, his reading prodigious, and application to study, in the midst of very various occupations, constant and unwearied; and, besides, his love of truth was sincere.

* Barbeyrac's Translation of Puffendorff, Preface, p. 77.

The celebrated work, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, and which he had originally designed to have entitled *De Jure Naturæ et Gentium*, was first published at Paris, in 1625, and dedicated to Louis XIII. The history of literature affords no similar example of a work of science producing so instantaneous, and at the same time so permanent an effect upon all the civilized nations of Europe. The most eminent men of the age wrote commentaries upon it.* It was explained publicly in the universities; and though Grotius himself had studiously avoided scholastic subtleties, yet all the logomachy of the schools was introduced about the meaning of particular words used in the treatise.

In 1640, John Selden published a work concerning the law of nature and nations, according to the doctrine of the Jews.† The learned are generally agreed that it was written in opposition to Grotius, to whom, however, he never alludes. He considers the subject as having never been discussed before; but his theory is not founded upon natural reason, but upon what are called the Seven Precepts of Noah, whose authority rests upon a rabbinical fable.

* Only fifty years after the death of Grotius, it was published at Frankfort on the Oder, *Cum Commentariis Variorum*; an honour, says Bayle, which was bestowed upon the ancients only, after the lapse of many ages.

† Its title is, Joannis Seldeni de Jure Naturali et Gentium juxta Disciplinam Ebræorum Libri Septem. Londini 1640, fol.

The only successor worthy of Grotius, about this period, was Samuel Baron de Puffendorff. His Elements of Universal Jurisprudence were first published at the Hague in 1660; and again, in 1684, he published the same work, but greatly enlarged. It is composed upon a much more extensive plan than that of Grotius, and is more methodical. We shall afterwards find that it was also introduced into the Scotish universities; but, at the time of which we are speaking, Grotius was the text-book.

So fashionable had the study of natural jurisprudence become, that a professor was esteemed to have neglected the most interesting and important part of his course, if he omitted to read with his students Grotius' treatise. It is impossible to peruse this work without being strongly impressed with the idea, that how learned soever the professor might be, he had a difficult task to perform. Young gentlemen, who had only been initiated into the elements of criticism, and whose acquaintance with the classics could not be presumed to be very intimate, felt great disgust at the many quotations from authors in all known languages. The pertinency of many of these passages may surely be questioned; and the applicability of a very great proportion of them is to be ascertained by critical acumen, of which few are possessed. It was the fashion of authors in those times to display a great profusion of learning in all their writings. They could not divest themselves of early habits; and, from the frequency with which

quotations were made, there seems to be little doubt that the greater number imagined that their works either were or would be supposed to be imperfect without such an embellishment.* A custom, therefore, which was prescribed by necessity, was speedily introduced, of editing what may be called a syllabus of the work of Grotius. In this the authors did not confine themselves to the words of the original, though they adopted the form of expression there employed, whenever it appeared to be consistent with their plan. As Grotius was justly esteemed a standard book, their object seems to have been to give an abstract of the philosophical speculations it contained respecting jurisprudence (the only part useful for their peculiar purpose as the public instructors of the youth), and to omit the criticisms upon language, the classical allusions, and a great mass of other miscellaneous matter. It has been so often mentioned in the former part of this work, that it seems unnecessary to repeat, that the professors, not in Scotland only, but throughout the whole of Europe, at this time, dictated their lectures to the

* How frequently does the great Roman orator introduce quotations from Ennius, Pacuvius, and Lucilius, not to mention his great Grecian masters. All that I mean to express at present is, that as human nature has always been actuated by similar passions, the beautiful allusions which Cicero has so happily made, in his philosophical works particularly, discover the bias of his early studies, and with what enthusiastic ardour he indulged in his early recollections.

students; a custom which I think could easily be proved to have originated from the anxiety of the teachers that those under their care might be possessed of a complete system of the doctrines taught in their course, and that, for many reasons, this was the best method to benefit them essentially; because, though it did most assuredly consume time, the professor was not precluded from subjoining such extemporary remarks, by way of elucidation or confirmation, as either the abstruse nature of the subject, or the proficiency of his pupils, might render expedient.

About the beginning of this year, and previous to the induction of Mr Areskine, Mr William Scott, one of the regents of philosophy, published an abridgment of Grotius "*Annotationibus et Commentariis selectis illustratum in usum studiosæ Juventutis Academiæ Edinensis. Edinburgi*, 1707, 4*to*." It is dedicated to the patrons. The apology, in his preface, is to abridge the labour of the students. He has taken considerable liberties with his author in regard to the *text*; but his commentaries are plain and judicious, accompanied with great modesty. As far as I have consulted it, I entertain little doubt but that it may still be read with advantage by young students.

The foundation of a new professorship of the law of nature and nations appears to have been occasioned in a great measure by Mr Areskine's interest at

court, in consequence of the active part which his connexions had taken in regard to the accomplishment of the union of the two kingdoms. In 1700, when only twenty years of age, after a comparative trial, he had been elected regent of philosophy, and had probably been educated for the church. He became a member of the faculty of advocates 17th June 1704;* and, we have seen, entered upon his new function in November 1707. I rather imagine that his public lectures on jurisprudence were soon discontinued. The four regents had been accustomed to give lectures to their students upon that subject; and many of the topics which they were called upon to discuss were nearly allied to the theory of public law; and it is not improbable that such students as proposed to be lawyers, viewed it in the light of an innovation; and as they were not compelled by any statute to attend his prelections, they speedily became indifferent to the task, and rather considered it as an unnecessary labour.

The great majority of the faculty of advocates were then strongly attached to the exiled family. So were, and, if possible, in a higher degree, the so-

* The following is extracted from the records of that honourable body. "17th June 1704.—Mr Charles Areskine, son to the late Lord Cardross, was publicly examined upon the title *si quadrupes pauperiem fecisse dicatur;* and, being found qualified, was remitted to the Dean, for a law for his lesson before the Lords, as use is."

ciety of writers to the signet. In short, the legal strength (if I may so express myself) of the whole nation was hostile to the union, which was then the great rallying point, and by which a man's political opinions were estimated. The institution, therefore, of this *regius* professorship was intended as a mark of the most decided attention of government to the bar, as none but a member of the faculty of advocates is competent to receive that appointment.

Mr Areskine's practice as a Scotish barrister became considerable in a very short time. He came better prepared than most young men to the study of the law; and the success which he afterwards had in life, must be ascribed to this, as well as to his diligence and application in the profession he had chosen.

Archibald Earl of Islay, and afterwards Duke of Argyle, from the period of his being appointed Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, which was in 1705, till his decease in 1761, was the confidential servant of government, and managed the whole Scotish affairs. It is not improbable that it was through his Lordship's influence that Mr Areskine was created professor of public law; but it is certain that, through him, he was made Solicitor-General in 1725, and Lord Advocate in 1737. The same generous patron got him advanced to the bench in 1744, when he assumed the title of Lord Tinwald; and, in the course of a few years, he was promoted to be Lord

Justice-Clerk. He died in extreme old age in 1762, much respected. He uniformly discharged the duties of the various public stations which he filled, with great credit to himself, and much to the satisfaction of the public. He is represented as having been an able civilian, an easy and graceful speaker, and possessed of very ingratiating manners.

CHAPTER IX.

Rules for teaching in the University—The Metaphysics taught—Natural Philosophy—Professorship of Greek established—The Library—Another attempt to accommodate English Dissenters—The High School—Professorship of Botany—Of Chemistry—Dr Pitcairn.

PARTY spirit was carried to a great height in Scotland at the beginning of the last century. Jealousy prevailed between the two nations; and the mutual recriminations which daily issued from the press, produced the natural effect of withdrawing the attention of all parties from the cultivation of polite learning. The press was laid under restraints; and, among other restrictions, the Town-Council, upon 20th February 1708, declared, that, "for the better discovering of the printers of public papers or pamphlets within this city, liberties, and privileges thereof, which may be justly censured by the government, statute and ordain that, in time coming, none of the said printers presume to print any papers or pamphlets without affixing their names thereto as printed by them, under the penalty of fifty merks,

to be paid by the transgressors herein; and ordained these presents to be printed and published, that none may pretend ignorance."* The universities participated of the general agitation; and the peace and quietness of academical retirement was most materially interrupted. The favourers of the union, however, still maintained the ascendancy; and really were extremely desirous to improve the plan of teaching in the university. The person who was most active at this time, not only in whatever respected the interests of the college, but the welfare of the city of Edinburgh in general, was Sir Samuel M'Lellan, who had been repeatedly raised to the dignity of Lord Provost, and was member for the city. He was a decided whig, and strongly persuaded of the political expediency and the advantages which would accompany the union. He was remarkable for his public spirit, and was generally esteemed as an upright and liberal minded magistrate; and so highly was he respected, that, at his decease, though not in office at the time, the magistrates resolved to attend his funeral in their robes. He was provost during the year 1708. The following minute of the Town-Council throws great light upon the state of the university at that time.

"*Edinburgh*, 16*th June* 1708.

"The council taking to their consideration what may be the most proper methods for advancing of

Counc. Regist.

learning in their own college of Edinburgh, have agreed upon the following articles as an rule of teaching in the said college:—*Primo*, That all the parts of philosophy be taught in two years, as they are in the most famous universities abroad. *Secundo*, That, as a consequence of this article, there be but two philosophy classes in the college, to be taught by two of the four present professors of philosophy. *Tertio*, That, in the first of these classes, the students be taught logic and metaphysics; and, in the last, a compend of ethics and natural philosophy. *Quarto*, Because there are many useful things belonging to the pneumatics and moral philosophy, which the two professors, in the present method of teaching classes, cannot overtake, therefore it is proposed that one of the two remaining professors shall be appointed to teach those two parts of philosophy more fully, at such times as the students are not obliged to be in their classes; and because he has not the charge of a class, he may have public lessons of philosophy in the common hall, where all the students may be present, at such times as shall be most convenient. *Quinto*, That there shall be a fixed professor of Greek; but so that neither he nor his successors shall, upon any pretence whatsoever, endeavour to hinder the admission of students into the philosophy classes in the usual manner, although they have not been taught Greek by him. *Sexto*, And, in regard the present professors have given proof of their qualifications in all the parts both of philosophy and

Greek, therefore, when any of these four professors places become vacant, the remaining professors of these now in places, allenarly shall have the offer of the vacancy according to their standing; and, when one chooses it, the rest shall, in the like manner, be allowed to succeed him.

"The same day, the council considering, that as the knowledge of the Greek tongue is a valuable piece of learning, and much esteemed in all parts of the world where letters and science do flourish, so they, being willing to contribute their utmost endeavour to advance the knowledge of that language, do judge that nothing can more effectually promote the said end, than the fixing a professor of Greek within the college of this burgh: And the council being fully satisfied with the sufficiency and capacity of Mr William Scott, one of the professors of philosophy there, as to the discharging of the said office and profession, they do therefore agree that the said Mr William Scott be professor of Greek in the said college, and have right to all the fees, profits, emoluments, and privileges, belonging to the said profession, or which he formerly enjoyed: Providing always, likeas it is hereby specially provided and declared, that, notwithstanding of this present, it shall be lawful for any student to enter to the semy class, or any superior class, albeit he was not a bajan, or taught Greek by the said Mr William Scott, sicklike and as freely in all respects as formerly: Declaring, that the said Mr William Scott, by his de-

gree of seniority amongst the professors of philosophy, or otherways, and which he presently possesses, is not to be prejudged or impaired by his acceptation hereof; but that he and his successors in office and profession shall, according to their admission, be numbered and placed amongst the professors of philosophy, whereanent these presents shall be a warrand.

"The same day, the council, taking to their serious consideration, that it is of great importance, for the better education of the students in the college of Edinburgh, that, while they are learning the several parts of philosophy, they should have an opportunity of being more fully instructed in pneumatics and moral philosophy than they can be by the present method of teaching classes, do therefore appoint Mr William Law, professor of philosophy in the college of Edinburgh, to teach pneumatics and moral philosophy to the students, at such times as they are not obliged to be in their classes: And seeing the said Mr William Law is not to have the charge of a particular class, they do appoint him to have public lessons of philosophy in the common hall, where all the students shall be present, at such times as shall be most convenient. But because it may not be convenient that the said Mr William Law should leave the class that he hath at present, until they have finished their course of philosophy, which they cannot do before April next, therefore, they appoint that the said Mr William Law shall begin to

teach the said pneumatics and moral philosophy in October 1709: And because the said Mr William Law may be at considerable loss by this alteration, therefore, the council are to use endeavours to find a fund which will afford fifty pounds sterling yearly to the said Mr William Law, by and attour of his present salary: And, in the mean time, the council, with the extraordinary deacons, oblige themselves, and their successors in office, to pay to the said Mr William Law five hundred merks yearly, commencing from October 1709; and appointed the present and succeeding college treasurers to pay to the said Mr William Law the aforesaid sum of five hundred merks yearly of additional salary, together with the present salary paid to him, at two terms in the year, Whitsunday and Martinmas yearly, beginning the first term's payment at Whitsunday 1710, and thenceforth termly until the said fund of fifty pounds sterling be provided."*

The patrons were anxiously desirous that the same methods of teaching should be established that prevailed in the foreign universities. They more particularly alluded to Utrecht and Leyden; for those seminaries were not only in the zenith of their reputation at this time, but they were the great places of resort to such Scotsmen as proposed to take the benefit of being educated abroad. The revocation

* Counc. Regist. vol. xxxix.

of the edict of Nantz, in 1685, had dissolved all connexion between the Scotish protestant students and the universities of France. The states of Holland alone afforded them an opportunity of cultivating those studies to which they were so much attached: and the spirit of independence is so powerful a stimulus, that the professors of those universities, during this period, became by far the most eminent literary characters in Europe. In criticism, in law, and in medicine, they have had few rivals.

The economy of the university has sustained very little alteration since this arrangement in 1708. The ordinary regular course of study has nearly continued the same. The propriety and good effects of the division of labour now began to be perceived. The variety of subjects on which each professor had formerly to prelect, could not fail to distract his own attention, and render it impossible for him to do justice to a great part of his course. It was, therefore, resolved, that there should be two philosophy classes.

The ancients divided philosophy, 1. Into *natural*, which included all speculative sciences, concerning substances, whether corporeal or incorporeal. 2. Into *moral*, which included ethics and politics; and, 3, *rational*, which comprehended logic and rhetoric. Aristotle, however, was the author who referred all the common attributes of spiritual substances, those which related to God and the human soul, to what he called metaphysics. The scholastics followed his

example. The logic taught at this time was little more than a repetition of the same system, of which so full an account has been given in the former part of this work. The metaphysics were, if possible, of a much more abstract nature. This science, as it was called, speculated "*de ente quod a materia est abstractum.*" It formed, therefore, a system which pretended to explain the most general properties of all spiritual existences, but more especially those of God and the human soul. This attempt at generalization constituted a part of what is the chief characteristic of the Aristotelian philosophy. But the period has now gone by for conceiving it to be within the reach of the human faculties to establish a system which may not improperly be called "the Philosophy of the Universe." This, however, was the error of Aristotle, Des Cartes, and many others.

Ontology, which was the first subject treated of in metaphysics, was the most cobweb science that ever exercised the ingenuity of philosophers. The doctrines it contained are so fugitive in their nature, and in general so unintelligible, that nothing but early prejudice, and deference to great names, could ever have rendered it a popular study. It, however, did become popular; because many men possessed of true philosophic genius, of great industry and knowledge, though they had, according to their own conceptions, fully appreciated the value of such puerile studies, yet would have injured their usefulness and

well earned reputation, had they not given way to the system then in vogue. Like every author who publishes a system of philosophy, many opinions and theories must be investigated by a professor in his course, the absurdities of which must be exposed; and the greater proportion of the history of philosophy consists of an enumeration and refutation of principles which had been gratuitously assumed.

The next head of the system of metaphysics was an inquiry into the human mind. No subject can be conceived by man to be more interesting. The method in which the investigation was conducted, could hardly lead to any satisfactory results. The critical question was still esteemed to be of prime importance, that is, whether the thinking principle was different from every thing corporeal. If we are to attempt to make any progress in the philosophy of mind, the assumption of either theory can afford us very little assistance in the outset of our inquiries. By fair induction, it may hereafter become a point completely settled; but he who succeeds in the demonstration, must have proceeded in his method of philosophizing after a quite contrary order.

Metaphysicians also assumed the proposition as a fact not to be disputed, that the mind of man was a simple uncompounded substance; whereas matter was an aggregate of many different substances. These observations, of course, were intended to refer to the living animal only. But, perhaps, it might

not occur to these philosophers, that, as they chose to express themselves, the "*res cogitans est unum quoddam et simplex*," was only removing the profound mystery of the constituent principles of the "*res cogitans*" a little farther from our view; and thus, by a process not uncommon, by the affectation of making every thing appear to be capable of a simple solution, conceal the real difficulty from observation. *Mind* possesses qualities by which it is distinguished, as well as matter. For example, mind is what reasons, wills, &c. Body, what is extended, &c. These, as the old metaphysicians would say, are their "*communissima attributa*;" but, in neither case, have we advanced far in the art of philosophizing. The inertness of matter was assumed as an axiom, while the natural activity of spirit was as gratuitously conceded; and, upon these two, the whole theories depended which were then so popular. Again, generation and corruption were denied to mind, but predicated of matter.

In their speculations respecting the powers of the mind, that is, the phenomena which are to be observed by a careful analysis of its functions, they succeeded much better. There are certain features which present themselves in so broad an aspect, that it is impossible to pass them unobserved, such as the five senses; connected with which, they introduced a great many abstract theories, which were of no real value. This was, however, the only part of the

course from which any thing that resembled knowledge could be obtained, if we except the instructions they gave upon natural theology. The course of metaphysics generally concluded with this, the most sublime of all subjects to which the mind of man can direct its attention. At this stage, the students read a portion of Cicero *De Natura Deorum*, particularly the second book, in which he is thought to have delivered his own sentiments upon this interesting topic.

In the second *philosophy* class, ethics and natural philosophy were to be taught. The theory of morals had, as yet, been little studied in the schools of modern times. In England, indeed, Dr Cudworth, in his "*Intellectual System*," had attempted to explain and vindicate the theory of Plato, his master, with all the ardour and ability which the most profound erudition could supply. Hobbes espoused the system of Epicurus; and erected a superstructure which had a most dangerous tendency, enunciated with the utmost confidence, and maintained with a degree of acuteness and discrimination to which few parallels are to be found in the history of philosophy. Their works were, however, at that time but little known in Scotland. Locke's immortal work, first published in 1699, gave a new impulse, as well as direction, to the studies of British philosophers of a metaphysical turn of mind. Previous to that era, the prelections in the public schools upon ethics were chiefly directed to an enumeration and classifi-

cation of the public and private duties mankind are called upon to discharge as members of society. Cicero's treatise *De Officiis*, in which he chiefly follows the Stoics, was read, as it still is in some universities, and commented on by the professors, and may justly be considered as the ground-work of the system they taught.

It is much more difficult to give any thing like a tolerable account of the lectures which were delivered on natural philosophy at this time, than any of the other sciences enjoined to be taught under the new arrangement. From the earliest ages, the attention of philosophers had been directed to the wonderful phenomena of nature; and they speedily set about composing systems, by which their knowledge might be arranged; and engaged in the agreeable pleasure of explaining, as they imagined, the causes and reasons of what they had observed in the natural world. It was this passion for system-building that induced Thales, Pythagoras, and others, to become the founders of separate sects, and to propose theories which should account for whatever they beheld. Aristotle had engaged in the same undertaking; and the authority he had obtained as a philosopher upon other subjects, added greatly to the popularity of his system of physics. In the middle and dark ages, his works, or those supposed to be his, relative to this subject, were the text-books of the public professors. Whilst the discoveries and just reasonings of Copernicus, Kepler, and Galileo,

were held inco ntempt, the peripatetic system still maintained its ascendancy. Lord Bacon, the contemporary of the two last mentioned philosophers, was the first who pointed out the only just method of philosophising. He clearly shewed that Aristotle accommodated his physics to his logics, instead of doing, as he ought to have done, giving such a kind of logic as would have been of real use in physics.

The person, however, who did more to undermine the credit of Aristotle's physics than any other individual in those days, was the celebrated Des Cartes, a man of a bold and enterprising genius, who, with all the confidence of very superior abilities, had the hardihood to set about the task of inventing a system, by which all the phenomena of nature were to be explained. It is only necessary to observe here, that how visionary soever his system of cosmogony may be esteemed to be, that it speedily found many proselytes among the learned; and its doctrines were introduced into the European universities, both protestant and popish.

The university of Edinburgh possesses the high honour of having been the first public seminary in Europe in which the Newtonian philosophy was publicly taught. Sir Isaac was indeed Lucasian professor of mathematics at Cambridge; and, consequently, much honour is reflected upon that illustrious seminary, by having cherished in its bosom the greatest philosopher of any age or country. But the doctrines of the *Principia* were, at their first publi-

cation, received at Cambridge with a degree of coldness, which, at this distance of time, appears to be unaccountable. The sister university took the lead in patronizing Newton's philosophy in England; but it was in Scotland where its high rank in the circle of the sciences was first asserted.

David Gregory was the first European professor who illustrated the philosophy of Newton in any public academy. He was admitted professor of mathematics in the university of Edinburgh upon 17th October 1683,* when only twenty-two years of age. His uncle, James Gregory, whose controversy, or rather *amica collatio*, with Sir Isaac Newton, is well known, had shewn him the illustrious example of great success in the prosecution of mathematical science, which inspired his youthful, but naturally ardent, mind with the idea of rivalling his illustrious predecessor. The "*Principia*" of Newton were first published in 1687; and, in a very short time after, he read lectures to his students upon the doctrines it contained. In 1691, he was preferred to be Savilian professor of astronomy at Oxford; but the impression which he had made upon his pupils at Edinburgh was not to be effaced. The most celebrated of those youths was John Keill, a native of the city of Edinburgh, who, possessing a kindred spirit with his master, and a devotedness to the cultivation of the same studies, determined to follow

* Counc. Regist. vol. xxx. p. 242.

Dr Gregory's fortunes, and to profit by his example and instructions. He repaired, therefore, to Oxford in 1694; and was the first who, in England, illustrated the Newtonian philosophy, by experiments, publicly exhibited to those who attended his prelections. And such was the fame which he acquired, that the university of Oxford conferred upon him the degree of doctor of medicine, without any solicitation on his part. Thus, Gregory in Scotland, and Keill in England, were the first public lecturers on the "*Principia*," and both issued from the same school.

In the minute of the town-council, quoted above, there seems to be some ambiguity as to the person whose duty it should be to teach natural philosophy. One would be apt to imagine, from the manner in which it is expressed, that the professor of moral philosophy also taught natural philosophy. I am inclined to think, however, that this was not the case, from another minute of the subsequent year.

"18*th May* 1709.—The council appointed Gavin Plummer, present town-treasurer, to subscribe, in name of the good town, for the sum of fifty pounds sterling, in order to the procuring instruments and machines necessary for confirming and illustrating, by experiments, the truths advanced in the mathematics and natural philosophy within the university of this burgh, conform to the proposal emitted by the principal and professors thereof for that end:

And the good town bind and oblige them, and their successors, to free and relieve the said Gavin Plummer of his said subscription."*

The mathematical professor at this time was Mr James Gregory, brother to David, whom he succeeded on 23d September 1692. There can be no doubt that he was anxious to imitate his brother's example. He appears to have done what his successor, Mr M'Laurin, afterwards did, who taught natural philosophy, until it was erected into a separate profession.

The patrons entered with spirit into the view of benefiting the students, and affording them more ample opportunities of improvement. While they were learning the several parts of philosophy, Mr William Law was appointed to deliver lectures on pneumatics and moral philosophy to the students, in the common hall, at such times as they were not in their classes.† The principal, as was formerly mentioned, was in the practice of delivering lectures on subjects connected with theology in this way.‡ Mr Law was to teach *gratis*; his former salary to be

* Counc. Regist. vol. xxxix. p. 371.

† So early as 3d December 1628, the professor of metaphysics was required to "make a public lesson once a-week in said science." Counc. Regist. vol. xiv. p. 119.

‡ Principal Colville, in the beginning of his "Prolegomena in Philosophiam Moralem Christianam," thus expresses himself: "Cum nobis animo sit (Deo dante) ethicam Christianam in auditorio publico prælegere," &c.

continued, with the addition of 500 merks; and, in short, his salary was to be at the least fifty pounds sterling. It is probable that this arrangement continued until 1729, as shall be afterwards explained.

Many attempts had been made to establish a separate professorship of the Greek language; and at last this was accomplished. One of the earliest foundations in the university was that of humanity; but no such chair had existed in the academy of Amsterdam or universities of Utrecht or Leyden. In each of these, however, there was a professor of Greek, whose titles, at full length, were, *Græcæ Linguæ, Historiarum et Eloquentiæ Professor.* They conjoined the study of the Latin tongue with the Greek; and, at the beginning of the session, publicly advertised what authors, and passages of authors, were to be explained in the course of it. This still continues to be done in several foreign universities; but, as far as I can learn, the only university under the British crown where this is punctually attended to is Trinity College, Dublin. The institution of a separate professorship of Greek has been productive of the most signal advantages to the university of Edinburgh.

Upon the same 16th June 1708, the Lord Provost and Council, convened in the high common hall of the college of Edinburgh, did appoint "Bailie Archibald Cockburn, and the committee for the college, to inquire what books are lent out of the college library, or are wanting, according to the catalogues

thereof, and to make report to the council betwixt and the tenth day of July next. And, in the meantime, appoint the bibliothecarius to furnish the committee with the receipts of the books lent, and to mark what books probably may be recovered, and what not: And further, the council recommends to the said committee to fall upon some expedient that may promote the setting of the chambers in the college: and, in order thereto, to see how far they need reparation, and to report."

"The same day, the council, considering that the promiscuous lending of books may be of ill consequence to the library; therefore, to obviate the same in time coming, the council, for hereafter, strictly prohibits and discharges the library-keeper to lend books belonging to the said library to any person whatsoever, except to the masters of the college, and to such students as shall procure warrants under their own masters hands for such books as they are to borrow; and when books are thus lent, whether to the said masters or students, they are to be returned within the space of three months; and each master to be liable, not only for the books lent to himself, but also for those lent to their respective students by their warrants: And the council recommends to the several masters of the college to abstain from borrowing any books out of the said library, except for their own use allenarly: And to the end this act may be more punctually observed, the library keeper is hereby ordained, from

time to time, to give information to the college treasurer against the masters, transgressors hereof, that the payment of their salaries may be stopped accordingly: Moreover, in regard there is nothing more wanting than an exact alphabetical catalogue, which the library keeper was ordered to prepare some years ago, the council did, therefore, peremptorily order and enjoin the said library keeper to prepare an exact alphabetical catalogue of all the books belonging to the library, betwixt and the first day of January 1710, under the pain of deprivation: And, lastly, the council discharges the lending of manuscripts, under any pretence whatsoever; and appointed the library keeper to find caution betwixt and the tenth day of July next."*

The indispensible necessity of every learned society being in possession of a good library is very manifest; but it is difficult, in almost all cases, to frame such a set of regulations so as to obviate even reasonable objections; and it is much more difficult, when the caprice and selfish passions of men are taken into calculation, to carry these into effect. The scarcity of books, before the invention of printing, is well known; and this disadvantage was felt by no men more severely than by those students who were destined for the learned professions. Hence arose the practice of public teachers dictating their lectures to their pupils, and examining with care the accuracy of the transcriptions they had made;—a custom, as

* Counc. Regist. vol. xiv. p. 119.

we have seen, which continued for a very long period after its necessity was superseded.

In the management of a well furnished library, there are two questions which naturally occur,—Ought the books to be lent out to the students, or liberty only granted to them to consult such authors, within the library, as the course of their studies may render convenient, if not necessary? As almost all the learned incorporations of modern Europe have arisen out of monastic institutions, the latter plan has been most generally adopted; and it certainly is the only method by which the books can be preserved entire. On the other hand, it is a great restraint upon studious men, and greatly interrupts the progress of their inquiries;* and, besides, in a public-room much frequented, many interruptions necessarily occur, independently of the few hours during which it is kept open. The dilapidations, however, which have been committed in all our great libraries, by dishonest and indiscreet persons, have induced the proprietors and curators of such institu-

* The celebrated Selden was so offended at being refused the loan of some manuscripts from the Bodleian Library, that though he had originally intended to leave his collection of books to that noble institution, he left them to the students of the Inner and Middle Temple, provided they would erect, within a limited time, a suitable building in which they might be deposited. They declined to do this. His executors, one of whom was Chief-Justice Hale, presented them to the Bodleian Library.—Wood's Hist. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii, p. 53.

tions to adopt every precaution that similar violations of honour and fair dealing shall not happen.* The method which, till lately, was used in all our old libraries, was linking the books on the same shelf by a chain secured by a padlock.† This clumsy device was abandoned after the ingenious invention of manufacturing and working wire became generally known. The chain, however, was used in the library of the university of Edinburgh; but appears to have been discontinued some short time after 1730, when a new economy respecting its management was thought necessary.

The patrons, who appear to have been actuated by the most pure and honourable motives, were well aware of the abuses which had crept in, and of the real loss which the library had sustained thereby; and, as trustees for the public, they formed the resolution of rectifying them in a manner which would most effectually promote the interests of the university. The earliest permission granted to the librarian to lend books, which I can discover, was

* Polydore Virgil is represented by Wood as having been the first who procured the king's mandate to have permission to borrow MSS. from the library of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, when he could procure them by no other means. Others followed his example; by which a most admirable collection, which can never be restored, was, in the course of about eighty years, nearly destroyed.—Wood's Hist. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 50.

† The ring through which the chain went was fastened to the book in such a way, that the book could be consulted, though not abstracted from the shelf.

to William Henderson, 4th October 1667; and he was enjoined not to give out books without a receipt; from which it would appear no such security had been taken before that time."* Though this practice had been continued, yet still this precaution was found insufficient to correct the evils complained of; and, therefore, the Lord Provost, Sir Patrick Johnstone (one of the Johnstones of Westerhall, whose descendant, Sir William Pultney, founded a new profesorship of agriculture in 1790), and council, who were not disposed to proceed to extremities, preferred steering a middle course. Books were to be lent to the masters, and to such students only as should present a warrant from one of them, and the books to be returned in three months. Perhaps a better plan could not be devised for a seminary frequented by a small number of students; but those that were in attendance at Edinburgh, even at this time, were comparatively so numerous, that it operated in the way of entire seclusion, rather than any thing else.

The bibliothecarius was treated with considerable sharpness. This was Robert Henderson,† the son of William, already mentioned. He and his father performed the duties of the offices of secretary and librarian to the university for the long period of nearly fourscore years. Both are represented to

* Counc. Regist. vol. xxv. p. 49 and 60.

† He was made *library-keeper* 21st November 1684.—Counc. Regist. vol. xxxi. p. 104.

have been weak men; and that they possessed a considerable share of vanity is perhaps very true. This can only be considered as a pardonable infirmity. But the documents they left, and which still exist, shew the most enthusiastic zeal for, and attachment to, their *Alma Mater*. They have inserted in a register the books, prints, and curiosities, they were each the means of procuring: And, independently of their long and faithful services, it may be affirmed, without any invidious comparisons, that they exerted themselves more, in their peculiar way, for the interests of the university, than all who have held similar situations since its foundation. There are two copies of the catalogue compiled by *Robert* still preserved; one in possession of the honourable the magistrates, and another in the library of the college; and it is but justice to add, that they are both drawn up with great neatness and accuracy. The dedication he has prefixed is perhaps a little inflated.

The librarians, for nearly a century after the foundation of the university, held their office *durante bene placito;* but the inconvenience, besides the injustice, of such an arrangement, was felt by all parties, in consequence of the frequent changes which it occasioned. The patrons, therefore, resolved that it should be extended *ad vitam aut culpam*, which, it will be allowed, is the only method by which the services of persons deserving of trust can be secured. The oath *de fideli administratione* was punctually administered by the patrons, and caution was required.

Upon 28th July 1708, the Town-Council, who were still actuated by the honourable motive of emulating the foreign universisies in every branch of science, resolved that Mr Adam Drummond, surgeon, should be conjunct professor of anatomy with Mr Robert Elliott; but the time had not yet arrived when the medical school in Edinburgh should become the most distinguished seminary in Europe for teaching medicine and surgery. More particular notice shall be taken of the appointment of Mr Drummond, when we come to treat of the medical school, in a subsequent chapter.

The library of the divinity hall was founded on 18th May 1698, by the late professor of theology, Dr George Campbell.* The number of volumes with which he endowed it is not specified. The Reverend Richard Straiton of London, and the Reverend Thomas Wilkie of the Canongate, Edinburgh, contributed considerably to its extent and usefulness; the former, at his death, having endowed it with seven hundred, and the latter with four hundred volumes. This was in the year 1719; they had been *alumni* of the university; and these legacies they wished to be considered as a testimony of their gratitude to their *Alma Mater*. Previous to this period, the students of divinity were equally entitled to the privilege of procuring books from the large library with any of the other *cives* of the university.

* *Vid.* the former volume, p. 384.

There is no evidence by which it can be proved that they were deprived of this right; and I am decidedly of opinion that, upon paying the usual honorary to the library, any theological student who chose might still assert his privilege, though he had not feed any of the literary or medical professors; and that such an one, as a member of the faculty of theology, is virtually possessed of all the immunities of any other student in the university. The custom of claiming this has been relinquished for upwards of a century, probably being esteemed unnecessary, because they found that they were sufficiently supplied with such books as they had occasion or inclination to consult from their own library. It does not follow, however, that the students of philosophy or medicine have a similar claim upon the theological library, for this good reason, that, by express acts of the general assembly of the Church of Scotland, the professor of divinity is prohibited from enrolling any one as a student in his department, unless he produce a satisfactory testimonial of moral character, and also of having regularly attended the preparatory classes.

As a proof that there was originally no distinction made between theological and other students, I found, in the course of my researches in the library, several books that could not possibly belong to any other faculty; such as a *Westminster Confession of Faith*, with which was bound up a considerable quantity of writing paper, in order that the students

might sign the confession previous to being admitted as members of the divinity hall. No such test of orthodoxy is now required from students. Indeed, the absurdity of requiring subscription from young men, who by supposition are ignorant, to any human system, is so glaring, that one cannot help expressing astonishment how, in any case, it can be defended in any protestant church.

An account of the plan for the education of English dissenters, suggested by Principal Carstares, has been already given. Obstacles occurred which prevented its being put into execution. The proposal, however, was not abandoned. The magistrates and ministers of the city, together with the professors, zealously concurred in approving of it. Mr James M'Ewen, a master of arts, was encouraged to make trial of the scheme upon a small scale, though at his own risk; and, to encourage him to proceed, the patrons came forward and contributed towards his assistance, as the following minute proves.

"*Edinburgh, 4th May* 1709.

"The council, with the extraordinary deacons, appointed the chamberlain to pay to Mr James MacEwen, master of arts in the university of Edinburgh, the sum of twenty-five pounds sterling, for encouraging him to carry on his design, so much approven of by the magistrates and council, patrons of the said college, and the reverend ministers of this city, and masters of the college, for setting up a public

boarding-house, where students, especially strangers, may lodge and table together, under the oversight of a general tutor, to take care of their accommodation, and inspect their morals, and to see that they mind their university business with their respective masters, which will improve the youth, advance learning, and render the university teaching more effectual, and is of the greatest consequence to human society, and will be most agreeable to all good christians."* Upon the subsequent 18th November, he was allowed fifteen pounds additional, "for negotiating affairs relative to the college of this city."

It is now impossible to ascertain what degree of success accompanied Mr M'Ewen's attempt. One thing is evident, that he had every encouragement from the civil authorities and the *literati* of Edinburgh which was likely to insure success. From the minute of council, inserted above, p. 86, it appears that there were several chambers in the college unoccupied; and that it was "recommended to the said committee to fall upon some expedient that may promote the setting of those chambers in the college; and, in order thereto, to see how far they need reparation, and to report." The most natural conjecture seems to be, that these chambers would have been repaired for this purpose, in order to accommodate Mr M'Ewen. But this was not the case. Sir Andrew Ramsay of Abbotshall, together with other donations

* Counc. Regist. vol. xxxix. p. 338.

to the college, had also left his town-house as a legacy to be applied to the same use. 'The patrons granted to him an advantageous lease of it; and "Mr M'Ewen, preacher, granted bond for L.400 Scots, as a year's rent of that lodging, in Niddry's Wynd, belonging to the college, and possessed by him from Whitsunday 1711 to Whitsunday 1712, out of which was allowed him repairs," &c.*

It may be mentioned here, that Mr M'Ewen was, in 1718, publisher of the well known newspaper "the Edinburgh Evening Courant;" and that he was the first who received permission from the magistrates to publish it three times in the week; so that he seems to have been an enterprizing man. The presence of Dr Calamy† in Edinburgh, about this time, could not fail to add new vigour to the

* Counc. Regist. vol. xl. p. 430.

† This eminent man was presented with the degree of doctor of divinity by the university upon 2d May 1709.* In the records of the college there is the following declaration in his own hand-writing, signed by him, when he received his degree. "I Mr Edmund Calamy, minister of the gospel at London, do own the confession of faith composed by the assembly of divines at Westminster, which is hereunto prefixed, as the confession of my faith." So highly and so justly was he esteemed, that, when he paid a visit to Scotland in 1709, in company with Mr John James Cæsar, a German divine, who had come to this country requesting contributions for his poor oppressed German brethren, the Magistrates of Edinburgh, besides encouraging them in their benevolent undertaking, presented them with the freedom of the city.—*Vid.* College Records, and Counc. Regist, vol. xxxix. p. 332.

measure, and to encourage all parties in Scotland to exert every effort in its favour. From the confidential friendship which had so long existed between Principal Carstares and Dr Calamy, it cannot be doubted that the scheme had the hearty concurrence of the latter, if it did not originate with him. From causes, however, which cannot now be fully enumerated, the generous intentions of those concerned eventually became ineffectual. That this unfortunate issue must be traced to the want of co-operation on the part of the English dissenters does not admit of a doubt. That respectable body had long zealously maintained all the doctrines of the Westminster Confession, which, indeed, was composed by themselves; and though some individuals among them objected to a few of the theories it contained, yet principally from conviction, and partly from timidity, or a dislike to innovation, the great mass of dissenters were Calvinists. They had as yet never ventured to defend the system of Arminius, the advocates for which first made their appearance in the Church of England. Laud, and his party, had espoused that side of the question; and the able defences of Burnet, Bull, &c. as well as the popular discourses of Tillotson, &c. had roused the attention of the intelligent and liberal minded to a more accurate examination of the disputed points. Disquisitions upon these subjects had begun to be freely canvassed among the dissenters; and, as happens in controversies on any subject, the same mutual con-

fidence between the contending parties no longer prevailed. The revival of the Arian hypothesis by Dr Clarke, a short time after, was the signal for the declaration of open hostilities; and this warfare has been carried on to the present hour.

In order to have rendered the plan perfectly efficient, it was necessary that the most complete agreement, as to the practicability and expediency of the measure, should have prevailed throughout the whole body of the dissenters. But every one knows how unlikely this was to happen, when once religious controversy had been introduced. I therefore entertain no doubt that this was the true cause of its proving abortive. Nothing similar to it has been projected since.

During the course of this year, Mr George Meldrum, professor of divinity, died, and was succeeded by Mr William Hamilton, minister of Cramond, near Edinburgh, upon 17th August 1709.* The professors of divinity had hitherto been also ministers of the city; and they discharged the duties of both offices. The strong desire which the patrons possessed to improve every department in the university, induced them at this time to resolve that Mr Hamilton should have no ministerial charge, that his attention might not be distracted from what was now to be his sole business. Excepting those of the Episcopal persuasion, a few Roman Catholics, a few

* Counc. Regist. vol. xxxix.

Quakers, and still fewer Cameronians, there were no dissenters from the Established Church at that time in Edinburgh; and the duties of a clergyman, who had the charge of one of the parishes into which Edinburgh was and is still divided, were pretty laborious.

It ought to be observed, also, that no General Assembly since the Revolution has ever been so strict and minute in defining the duties, both of the clergy and laity, as that which was held about a month before Mr Hamilton's election; and this, perhaps, was one cause of the council deviating from what had been customary before. He was not interdicted from preaching, but he had no parochial duty to perform; an arrangement similar to what took place, and still exists in Aberdeen, where the professor of divinity, though he preaches, has no district of the town assigned to him as his parish.

Those who have never examined the subject, have no idea of the extent of the labour of a minister of the city of Edinburgh in those days. All the inhabitants of the parish were required to attend their own parish church regularly, and not to withdraw from their own ministers. The clergyman was to visit all the families in his parish at least once in the year, and, if his charge was small, oftener; to take an account of the names of the family, parents, children, and servants; to inquire for certificates from those who are lately come to the parish; to mark them in his roll for catechising; to take notice who can

read, and of the age of children; if any difference existed in the family, or with neighbours, he was expected to remove it; besides public examinations in the church, he was appointed to have weekly catechising in some part of the parish, and liable to suspension from his office if he persisted in neglecting it; frequently to visit and pray with the sick; to perform the ceremony of marriage; to take cognizance of offenders, or such as were guilty of scandal or any immorality in his parish, and bring them before the session, whose meetings he alone could appoint. And all these complicated and laborious functions he was to discharge, and, in the meantime, to prepare himself for his public appearances in the pulpit, where reading a discourse from notes he himself had composed, was considered as a most heinous violation of christian decency. These are only a few of the duties which were required of him in those days; so that it need not excite surprise that Professor Hamilton was exempted from the performance of them. The patrons of the college generously raised his salary to four thousand merks,* that his emoluments might not be inferior to that of any of his predecessors. Dr Hamilton was a man of abilities, well acquainted with ecclesiastical affairs. He possessed the full confidence of government, was raised to the dignity of moderator of the assembly five different times;

* Counc. Regist.

and, in 1715, during the course of which, the moderator, Principal Carstares, died, he was at that critical period esteemed as a successor worthy of that great man, and elected president of that venerable court. He was made principal of the university upon 16th February 1732; but enjoyed that preferment only a very short time, for he died in the subsequent year.

The Town-council never relaxed their exertions in regard to the university, for, upon 28th October 1709,

"After reading the laws* and constitutions of the said college, appointed to be observed by the masters and students there, the Lord Provost, rector of the said college, interrogated the principal if the said laws and regulations were accordingly observed; to which the said principal answered, except in so far as it was thought proper for the greater convenience and better improvement of learning. The bibliothecarius was also interrogated respecting the progress he had made. It was recommended to him to finish it against the time prescribed."† Many of these laws, which were judicious and necessary at the time, had now gone into desuetude, in consequence of improved methods of teaching, the extension of knowledge, new professorships, and other arrangements, being introduced since their enactment. The

* These laws are inserted at full length in the Appendix to vol. i.

† Counc. Regist. vol. xxxix. p. 518.

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visitors were therefore perfectly satisfied with the Principal's answer.

In the former part of this history, it has been shewn that the high-school of Edinburgh was founded a few years before the university; and that it was originally proposed that it should serve the purposes both of a school in which the elements of the learned languages were to be taught, and also be a seminary wherein instruction could be obtained in those sciences usually confined to universities. It is sufficient to mention in this place, that its ultimate destination was to teach the Latin language only; and the reputation which it has deservedly acquired, as one of the first schools of the age, is universally known and acknowledged.

Towards the commencement of the last century, however, it appears to have been in a very low state, through the mismanagement of some of the masters; for the institution consists of a rector and four masters. The latter carry forward their pupils for four years, similar to what was the original constitution of the university; they are then transferred to the rector, under whose care they continue two years, when the course is completed. The Town-council, who are patrons of this school also, bestowed equal pains at this time in improving and reforming this seminary. Their great object was to regain the confidence of the public, which had been unfortunately forfeited. Upon the same day on which they had visited the university, they repaired to the high-

school, examined the rector and masters separately; and then in the presence of each other; and felt a delicacy in determining to whom the blame ought to be ascribed. They, therefore, determined to consult the principal and professors, and to request them to give their advice respecting the method of teaching and discipline to be observed in the high-school. This they accordingly did upon 8th February 1710. As this memorial of the *Senatus Academicus* not only contained their opinion upon the very interesting subject of the best method of being initiated into a knowledge of the Latin tongue, but also pointed out the best course of preparatory study to those who designed to enter the university of Edinburgh, I have introduced it in this place.

"*Edinburgh, 8th February* 1710.

"Bailie Francis Brodie, Preses of the college committee, presented to the council several particulars concerted by the principal and professors of the college, in relation to the method of teaching, and discipline to be observed, in the high-school, the tenor whereof follows.

"The reverend primar and professors of the university of Edinburgh having, at the desire of the honourable patrons, considered the present method of teaching in the high-scool, as laid before them by Mr Skeen, the principal master, have set down their thoughts on this matter in these few following particulars: 1*mo*, As to the grammar, they think that

the fourth part ought to be entirely laid aside, as being a confused heap of hard Greek words in Latin characters, containing really nothing useful that is not much better explained in the short compend of rhetoric which is or ought to be every year taught in the same class. As to the other three parts of grammar, they are of opinion that Despauter, as abridged by Novimola, may be still taught, until a better is agreed upon, provided care is taken to supply what is wanting in the third part, *De Generibus Carminum*, out of Vossius or some other; to pass over in the second what is false or ridiculous, as *Antiptosis erit*, &c. and to alter, or deliver in more intelligible words, such obscure rules as *materia circa quam*, &c. *2do*, As to the authors publicly taught, the professors, considering that the old Latin writers, commonly called the Classics, are the undoubted standard of the language, and may be justly called originals, of which the best books of the moderns are but copies, they cannot but think it highly reasonable to look for the propriety and purity of the Latin in the fountains themselves, and that is no disparagement to the most valued amongst the latest writers, to be obliged to give place to the ancient, their masters. By this preference, how just soever, they would not be understood to condemn the reading, in the lower classes, such books of dialogues as were writ by learned men and great masters of the language, on purpose to facilitate the practice of speaking Latin, much

less to thrust out of schools Buchanan's immortal Paraphrase on the Psalms, which, as well upon account of the subject being a part of sacred Scripture, as the inimitable beauty of the verse, can never be too much read or studied in christian schools. *Stio*, Concerning the method and order of reading of the Latin authors in schools, their opinion in general is, that, in language, as in every thing else, a master ought to begin with what is most easy; and since, in all languages, the Greek and Latin more especially, poetry is much more difficult than prose, it follows that a boy ought not to attempt the one till he is well acquainted with the other; that is, till he is master of the flexion of nouns and verbs, understands the most essential rules of the syntax, and can make a shift by himself to understand a plain prose author. The reason of this is obvious; for the poetical style, which the poets call the language of the gods, differing so wide from that of history, speeches, or conversation, is full of bold figures, lofty strains, and uncommon turns of wit, and, therefore, cannot but often puzzle an young beginner, if he comes to them *illotis manibus*, as we say, that is, raw and unprepared, for not having laid the foundation before mentioned. Yet this needs not be extended to *Sulpitius de Moribus*, Cato's *Distichs*, or any other of that kind. For these, having nothing of poetry in them but the numbers, are for the most part easy enough; and may be of good use in forming the manners, exercising their memories, and im-

proving their pronunciation. 4*to*, They are persuaded teachers cannot act a more unskilful part with respect to their scholars, than by changing their authors too often; the skipping from one to another serving not to inform, but to perplex, their understanding with variety of styles, as the alteration of masters is observed to retard their progress, by the confusion of different methods. Nothing can be more certain than that one author, carefully read, and thoroughly understood, will improve a lad more in the language, and make him really fitter to understand even such books as he never saw, than if he had run over most or all of them in the cursory or superficial way that is commonly practised. For, in this slow but sure method, he will contract a familiar acquaintance with his author, his style, his manner, his phrases, and form himself on his model, and insensibly imitate him, as often as he has occasion to read or write. They are the more confirmed in this opinion, when they consider that some authors are so excellent in their kind, as, for instance, among the poets, Terence, Virgil, and Horace, and, amongst prose authors, Cæsar and Livy, that they can never be too often read, or too well understood, by such as would attain to the true purity and elegance of the Latin tongue. As to the translations and other exercises set down by Mr Skeen (the disputes on Saturday being excepted, of which, with the discipline of the school, their thoughts will appear on a paper apart), together with the present method of

teaching, they fully approve of them, as proper and useful; and are persuaded that such a method, closely pursued, by undoubted abilities, cannot but exceedingly contribute to the improvement of youth in the Latin tongue, and will certainly answer all the ends of a Latin school.

"The list of the authors of which any may be read in the several classes, is as follow:—1. In the highest class; Poets,—Terence, Virgil, Lucan, Horace, Juvenal, Buchanan's Psalms. Prose authors,—Cicero's Select Orations, Livy, Florus, Sallust, Sueton, Vossius' little compend of Rhetorick. In the second class; Poets,—Virgil's Pastorals, Claudian, Ovid's Metamorphosis, Buchanan's Psalms. Prose authors,—Cæsar's Commentaries, Velleius Paterculus, Justin, Curtius. In the third class. Poets,—Phædrus, Ovid's Epistles or Metamorphosis; Prose authors,—Cicero's Select Epistles, Cornelius Nepos. In the fourth class,—Sulpitius de Moribus, Cato's Moral Distichs, Phædri Fabulæ. Prose authors,—Corderii, Erasmi, et Castalionis Colloquia. In the lower class,—Vocables, Variæ Loquendi Formulæ, Dicta Sapientum, Rudimenta Pietatis.

"In this catalogue are first left out Persius, for the sake of his obscure and crabbed style, though, indeed, an author of excellent thoughts and refined morality, but much fitter for the perusal of men than boys. 2. The Westminster Catechism, because the Latin of it lying under many exceptions, it is the opinion of the university that it may be taught to

better purpose in English on the Lord's Day. As to Buchanan's excellent history, and his other poems, distinct from the Psalms, though left out here, upon reasons laid down before, they may nevertheless be recommended to be read in private by those of the first class, who, if they have not lost their time, will find little difficulty in understanding him, or any other modern author worth reading.

"Concerning the discipline of the school, it will be convenient that the discipline of each class be exercised, as it was some years ago, by its proper master in all ordinary cases. But, in great faults or disorders, the boys that are guilty are to be chastised by the rector himself, that they may be ashamed, and others frighted from the like faults: That as all the masters have the immediate charge of teaching and discipline in their respective classes, so the rector have not only the same charge in his own class, but take care also that all the masters wait punctually on the school at the ordinary diets, be diligent and faithful in their business; and if any of them should either neglect his duty, or perform it superficially, or should not observe a prudent constant course of discipline and good order, the rector is then to admonish him privately for the first time; for the second, before all his colleagues; and, if he regard not that, the rector is, without delay, to represent the matter to the magistrates and town-council.

"That the time of disputing now in the school, on

Saturday forenoon, be employed by the rector and masters in reviewing what hath been taught that week in their respective classes, in the way that they shall think most proper and convenient for the improvement of the scholars; only, the first Saturday of every month, they may be allowed to dispute as formerly: That, at the ascension of the classes, particular care be taken that such only be allowed to advance as understand, tolerably well at least, these things that have been taught the preceding year: That the scholars, every fortnight, be allowed to play and refresh themselves one whole afternoon, in place of all the other ordinary occasions of dismissing the school, such as entering of new scholars, the paying of quarter payment, at the desire of the boy that is victor at Candlemas, or of gentlemen or ladies walking in the yard, &c. But, on public and solemn extraordinary occasions, this matter must be left to the prudence and discretion of the rector and masters.

"*Sic subscribitur*, W. Carstares, *P.* Will. Hamilton, *P. P.* Robert Stewart, *P. P.* Col. Drummond, *P. P.* Lau. Dundas, *L. L. P.* Jo. Cumin, jun. *S. S. T. P. Regius*, John Goodale, *L. Heb. P.*

"Which being considered by the council, they, with the extraordinary deacons, approved of the foresaid overtures, and ordained the same to be observed in all time coming. And, further, the council recommended that, at Whitsunday and Martinmas

yearly, the high school be visited by the magistrates; and that the rector advertise the council thereof eight days before each term; and that, for the encouragement of boys of spirit, that some small reward in books be given to the best scholars in each classes, according to their merit, as formerly."*

Few observations are necessary to be made upon this excellent paper. The judicious and pertinent remarks which it contains, cannot fail to strike every one who reads it; and that the authors of it had thoroughly studied, and were well acquainted with the subjects upon which they were called to give an opinion. There is one passage, however, which I confess I do not comprehend. What benefit could acrue to, or rather, how could youths, little acquainted with Latin, and possessing less general knowledge, dispute publicly upon any subject? The masters, therefore, alone probably held these disputations in the presence of the boys; but even this was an idle amusement. The method, as here stated in detail, has been acted upon (with the exception of the disputations) ever since; and the experience of more than a century has proved its excellence. The plan of education at this seminary has, however, been extended within the last forty years, in imitation of the great English schools. The boys are taught the elements of Greek also at a very early period of

* Counc. Regist. vol. xxxix. p. 636.

the course. This was first proposed by its late celebrated rector, Dr Adam; and afterwards improved upon by the present Professor Christison.

An account has been already given of the foundation of a professorship of the law of nature and nations. It was now proposed that a professor of the civil or Roman law should be appointed in the university. The propriety of such an establishment was apparent on many accounts. The Romans were the most celebrated people that ever appeared upon the theatre of Europe. They made more rapid strides to universal empire than any nation recorded in history; and, among other effects of their wonderful success, the dissemination of their language was not the least important. At an early period, it was consecrated, by being adopted in the service of the Western Church; and it speedily became the language which was employed by the learned. These and other causes constituted a critical study of the Latin language to be a necessary branch of a liberal education. It is impossible to be well acquainted with the history of any nation, without having studied its legal code; and this, combined with the real intrinsic excellence of the system of Roman jurisprudence, and its intimate connexion with the municipal law of Europe, rendered it not only a subject of curiosity, but of indispensible necessity, to every professional man who wished to be distinguished as an eminent lawyer in modern times.

This celebrated code, from very small beginnings,

gradually increased under the kings, the consuls, and emperors, until, at last, its extent became so great, that few possessed either the opportunity or the courage to make themselves masters of it. The Emperor Justinian entirely changed the state of Roman jurisprudence. Before his time, it lay scattered in an immense number of different works of the lawyers. The enterprise which he succeeded in accomplishing was worthy of the genius of a great prince. He began his labours by collecting all the books of the lawyers which were in use in his time, excluding, in this selection, the works of the old writers. His design in this was to assist young students in prosecuting the study of the law. He was raised to the imperial throne in 527; and, notwithstanding the numerous wars in which he was engaged, he entered with the greatest ardour on cultivating the arts of peace. In the course of the second year of his reign, he commenced the labour of rescuing the laws from that obscurity in which they then were, and of reducing them into a more convenient and brief order. The first object of his attention was to collect the *Constitutions* of the former emperors, which were in a state of great confusion, but had been thrown together by Gregory, about the year 272; hence called the *Codex Gregorianus*. Next succeeded the *Codex* of Hermogenes, and then the Theodosian Code. These three included the constitutions of the emperors from Hadrian to Theodosius; that is, from A. D. 117 to

A. D. 435, a period of three hundred and eighteen years. Justinian published his *Codex* in the third year of his reign, composed from the above, and other constitutions afterwards made. This preceded all his other works on law. The number of volumes of the ancient lawyers was so great, as to exceed the study and industry of the youth. According to Gothofredus, there were two thousand volumes, and three hundred and ten thousand sentences. The task of arranging these was assigned to Tribonian, and he was allowed ten years to accomplish it; but he finished it in four. From the great variety of subjects of which it treated, he called the work *Pandects*; and, from the order in which it was arranged, in imitation of the *Edicts* digested by Julian the lawyer, he called it *Digests*. The *Institutions*, containing the elements of jurisprudence, were published a month before, though composed posterior to the *Digests*. They were confirmed in the seventh year of his reign; and were compiled chiefly from the *Institutions* of Caius, Ulpian, and Marcian. Justinian also published, a short time before his death, what he called the *Novels*, which contain various constitutions of the empire after the publication of the *Codex*.

Before the time of Justinian, three cities were selected in which alone jurisprudence was permitted to be taught: These were, Berytus the capital of Phœnicia, Constantinople, and Rome; and only two teachers were allowed to each. When the seat of

empire was removed to Constantinople, the Justinian code was translated into Greek, and called *Libri Basilici.* They retained their authority till the eastern empire was overturned by the Turk in 1452. It is generally affirmed that the *Digests* were discovered at Amalphi, in Italy; and that, from this single discovery, the study of the Roman law was revived. Gravina, a civilian of the highest authority, is of opinion that there were many copies of the Justinian code in existence at that time, particularly at Ravenna, which was long under the subjection of the emperors; and that many books of Roman law were rather then acknowledged than found, when a desire for studying it began to prevail.* Lotharius caused the Roman law to be taught in the public schools, and to be acknowledged by all the tribunals. The most celebrated school instituted by him was that of Bologna, in which Irnerius taught. There were sometimes ten thousand students of civil law at this university.

It was in imitation of Bologna, that so many professorships for the study of the civil law were instituted in Europe. It was comparatively late, however, before any were established in Britain. That at Cambridge, for example, was not till 1540, when it was founded by Henry VIII. Previous to that period, however, a foundation for teaching the Roman law in Scotland had been endowed in King's

* Gravina de Ortu et Progressu Juris Civilis, sect. 140.

College, Aberdeen, from the first erection of that university. Several gentlemen, members of the faculty of advocates, had been in the practice of delivering a private course of lectures. Mr John Cuninghame, for a considerable number of years, gave lessons both upon the civil and the Scotish law;* and there can be little doubt that Mr James Craig, who was elected professor of civil law, had done the same. The intimate connexion which exists between the municipal law of Scotland and the Roman jurisprudence, could hardly fail to suggest the adoption of such a plan; but gentlemen who had chosen the profession of the law generally resorted to Leyden or Utrecht at this time, in order to prosecute the study of it.

Upon the 18th October 1709, the patrons of the university resolved to elect a professor of the civil law, as the following minute, of that date, shews.

"The council, with the extraordinary deacons, taking to their consideration that the college of this city, from the original and foundation thereof by King James the Sixth of ever blessed memory, being erected into an university, of which they are patrons, were endued with the priviledge of electing professors of all the liberal arts and sciences; and, particularly, considering that, through want of professors of the civil law in this kingdom, the youth who have applied themselves to that study, have

* Edinburgh Courant, 2d October 1706.

been necessitated to travail and remain abroad a considerable time for their education, to the prejudice of the nation, by the necessary charges occasioned thereby, until, of late, some gentlemen having undertaken that profession, although only in a private capacity, have given convincing proofs how advantageously that study might be prosecuted at home, if countenanced and encouraged by public authority; and understanding the ability and good qualifications of Mr James Craig, advocate, do therefore elect, nominate, and chuse the said Mr James Craig to be professor of the civil law in the said university; and appointed rooms to be appropriated to him for teaching the same within the said college; and recommended to Bailie Hay to install him in the said profession. But in regard there is no foundation of salary to the said profession, the council declared he is not to expect any salary as professor aforesaid. And the said Mr James Craig compearing, accepted his office in the terms above mentioned, and gave his oath *de fideli administratione*."

The poverty of the funds of the college is the only sufficient reason for such a proposal as the foregoing being submitted to Mr Craig. The truth seems to be, that as he had delivered lectures privately on the same subject, for some years before, he himself was eager to undertake the same labour, under the sanction, and accompanied with the privileges, of an university. He had every reason to

calculate upon an increase of emolument; and the situation which he now held was more respectable in every point of view. But there can be little doubt that, from the very first, Mr Craig commenced his labours under the patronage of the Honourable the Faculty of Advocates. The consent of the patrons was indispensibly necessary before any professor could be inducted into the college; and though they felt themselves unable to endow it according to their wishes, it is natural to suppose that they were inclined to retain this patronage in their own hands. They have accordingly done so. The adjustment of the business was amicably conducted between the patrons and the faculty; The former consented to the establishment of a professor of civil law in their own university; and the latter annexed a small salary to the appointment.* The professorship in King's College, Aberdeen, has been a sinecure almost from the foundation. That in Glasgow was founded a few years latter than this in Edinburgh;† so that Mr Craig may be considered as the first professor of the civil law in Scotland.

The courts of law being held in Edinburgh, the capital of Scotland, and, consequently, it being the great place of the resort of practitioners of the law

* Woodhouslee's Life of Lord Kames, vol. i. p. 11.

† By a deed of Queen Anne, in 1713, a part of the gift of L.300 per annum by King William, was appropriated for a salary to a professor of civil law in Glasgow.—Statist. Acc. vol. xxi. p. 28.

of all descriptions, it was the most natural site for an establishment of this kind. The civil, being the basis of the Scotish law, in all matters not depending upon feudal principles, it is therefore astonishing that a *profession* of the Roman law should have been established at so late a period. The Court of Session was instituted in 1532; so that no fewer than one hundred and seventy-eight years had elapsed before any public authorized commentator in this country undertook to explain that system of jurisprudence, of which a great proportion of the law of Scotland is only a copy. One reason must have had a powerful effect in producing this apparent indifference. The Honourable the Faculty of Advocates, one of the most respectable and learned societies in Europe, and second to none in having produced most profound feudalists, civilians, and acute lawyers, as well as illustrious statesmen, the ornaments of their country, does not require certificates from candidates for admission to their society of having attended any law classes in any university whatever. They are perfectly satisfied if the candidate honourably acquit himself in the course of the various examinations to which he must submit. If he possess the requisite knowledge, with this they are satisfied. He is indeed examined particularly upon the civil law; and the thesis which he prints, and, if called upon, must defend, is always upon some prescribed title of the Justinian code. Having satisfied his judges, he is forthwith admitted an advocate at the

Scotish bar, and invested with all the immunities annexed to the profession of a barrister.

The only means which were employed to attain a knowledge of the civil law, previous to this period, were either private study or resorting to the universities of Utrecht, Leyden, Halle, or Groningen. The lectures in these seminaries were, and still are, delivered in the Latin language. So were those of Mr Craig. This practice was generally adopted throughout Scotland at that time by all the professors; and at no very remote period has it been abandoned. Professor Millar's predecessor was the first in the university of Glasgow who prelected in English on the Justinian code; and so tenacious are we of ancient usages, that we are informed, "the Faculty of Advocates made application to the university, requesting that the old practice of teaching the civil law in Latin might be restored."* I have been able to learn very little of Mr Craig. He appears to have had a taste for antiquarian research, from some papers he borrowed from the Town of Edinburgh. He died about 1732.

The death of Dr Charles Preston, professor of botany, has been mentioned already. Upon the 2d January 1712, he was succeeded in that chair by Mr George Preston, who, if not his son, was nearly related to him. "The council, considering that the office of professor of botany of this city, and master of the physic garden thereof, is now vacant, through

* Statist. Acc. vol. xxi. Appen. p. 40.

the decease of Mr Charles Preston, M. D.; and the council being most willing and desirous that the said science of botany be promoted in this city; and understanding the ability and qualifications of George Preston, apothecary, burgess of this city, for teaching the said science of botany; therefore, the council have nominated and elected the said George Preston to be professor of botany, and master of the physick garden of this city, with power to him to cultivate and possess the said garden and house, at the New North Port, and pertinents belonging thereto, in all respects, as freely as the said Charles Preston did cultivate and possess the same; And the council allowed to him the sum of ten pounds sterling of yearly salary, for his encouragement, to carry on the said profession of botany, and cultivate the said garden; and to keep correspondents for procuring plants and seeds from foreign countries; and with the burden always of the payment of forty pounds Scots yearly to the treasurer of the Trinity Hospital," &c.* In the subsequent September, he was allowed an additional ten pounds yearly for building a green-house in the college garden, and keeping the garden in good condition.†

Mr Preston had held some medical situation in the army, and had seen a great deal of service abroad. He was afterwards established in Edinburgh as a surgeon; and was made surgeon-major to the forces in North Britain. He assigned this as a reason for

* Counc. Regist. vol. xl. p. 325. † Ibid. p 511.

paying no city taxes for his public shop in 1713.* The remuneration which Mr Preston received from the patrons must be acknowledged to have been very small. It is to be regretted that not the least vestige remains by which it can be ascertained what numbers attended the Physic Garden. It was (as has been mentioned already) open to the public during the course of the whole day throughout the season, in the time of his predecessor; and it is likely Mr Preston continued the practice. The emoluments he could derive from the medical plants which he reared in the garden must have been very trifling; and, considering his paltry salary, the only inducement he could have to continue giving instructions in botany, could arise from those who attended him. The local situation of the garden at Trinity Hospital was exceedingly unfavourable for the purpose to which it was applied. It had little or no exposure to the rays of the sun; the soil very swampy; and the plants exceedingly liable to be injured, from its not being properly inclosed. When

* Counc. Regist. vol. xli. p. 262.—The following advertisement was published in the Edinburgh Gazette by Mr Preston, 9th October 1701, and is strongly illustrative of the manner in which the business of an apothecary was carried on in Edinburgh at that time. "George Preston, apothecary and druggist, is newly arrived with a large parcel of all sorts of druggs newly come from the Indies; as also, all sorts of spices, sugars, tea, coffee, chaculet, &c. and are to be sold at his shop, in Smith's New Land, on the north side of the High Street, foregainst the head of Blackfriar's Wynd, Edinburgh. Printed lists, with their prices, are to be seen at his shop."

Mr Preston was made professor, it appears, from the representation which he gave in to the Town-Council, that the walls were in the most ruinous state, so as to afford no protection. He succeeded, however, in getting them repaired; but the disadvantages of the situation still formed a great objection; and this was the cause of erecting the green-house in the college garden, possessed by the professors.

In 1713, a professorship of chemistry was founded. This science, which is cultivated with so much ardour in the present day, was then comparatively in its infancy. It is true, that as soon as mankind felt the necessity of relieving the most imperious calls of nature, they would commence practical chemists. For not only the most useful arts which contribute to the convenience and comfort of man, but the preservation of life itself, depends upon the knowledge of chemical laws. Accordingly, as society advanced in its progress, the attention of philosophers was, in proportion, more particularly directed to the cultivation of this science. By observing the wonderful transmutations which take place on different substances, by the application of heat and mixture, they adopted the fancy, that, by a skilful combination of different bodies, it was possible to alight upon such a compound as should possess all the properties of genuine gold. Another object of their ambition was to obtain, by similar means, an universal remedy, by which all diseases were to be cured, and even life itself extended to an indefinite

period. There were two persons who, in these last ages, gave particular celebrity to such pursuits. These were Paracelsus and Van Helmont, who had announced, in the most public manner, that they were in the possession of both secrets, though they were exceedingly careful that they should be divulged to none. Strange as it may seem, they had numerous admirers during their lifetime; and, notwithstanding that neither of them arrived at old age, yet, after their decease, there were many who gave them credit for their pretensions. The latter of these celebrated men died only in 1644; and it is a well known fact, that the writings of both produced such an effect upon the mind of that illustrious philosopher, Mr Robert Boyle, as to induce him to give credit to many of the secrets to which they laid claim. The labours and writings of these vain pretendors, however, were not without their use; they attracted general attention, and excited multitudes to engage in chemical experiments, to whom, in all probability, it would never have occurred. At the beginning of the last century, they still retained some authority in the schools; and, at a later period than the foundation of a chemical professorship in the university of Edinburgh, the illustrious Boerhaave, when he published his *Elementa Chemiæ*, considered it necessary to give a detail of their leading doctrines, and enter into a critical examination of them. One of the first philosophers who revived the study of chemistry at this time, and was the

means of introducing the study of this interesting science very generally into the European universities, was Boerhaave himself. He commenced his lectures on chemistry and botany, in the university of Leyden, about the end of the seventeenth century; and, in a very short time, acquired such reputation as a public lecturer on those sciences, as to attract students from all parts of Europe. He was naturally possessed of a clear understanding, a talent for scientific arrangement, and, by study, and the most unremitting application, had acquired a stock of critical and philosophical knowledge superior to most of his contemporaries. His classical taste, perfect knowledge of the learned languages, the distinct manner in which he enunciated his chemical doctrines, and the apposite illustrations with which they were accompanied, together with the judicious selection of the experiments he exhibited in the class, and his neat manner of performing them, were much calculated to render the study of chemistry extremely popular, independently of the interesting nature of the science itself. These qualifications, united to the excellence of his moral character, and fascinating manners in private practice as a physician, rendered him the most universally esteemed professor in Europe.

Dr James Crawford was elected professor of physic and chemistry in the university of Edinburgh upon 9th December 1713.* It is a singular co-

* Counc. Regist. vol. xli. p. 236.

incidence, that the professorship of chemistry in the university of Cambridge was founded in the course of the same year.* It was the established custom for every Scotish student of medicine, whose funds could afford it, to repair to some foreign university, and improve the opportunities to be found there, which could not be obtained at home.† Previous to this period, the Italian seminaries were in the greatest repute as medical schools, especially those of Bologna and Padua. Harvey, the illustrious discoverer of the circulation of the blood, was educated at the latter, and laid there the foundation of his minute knowledge of anatomy, by which he has secured to himself immortal fame. In the course of little more than half a century, it was eclipsed by the Parisian school, whose reputation for anatomy and surgery was now at its zenith; its theatre being under the superintendence, and adorned by the talents, of the celebrated Winslow. But it was only for anatomical dissections, and surgical operations,

* University Calendar, p. 31, for 1815.

† It ought to be mentioned, that a course of chemistry had been delivered from time to time, in the apothecaries hall, Edinburgh, under the patronage of the surgeons, as the following advertisement in the Edinburgh Gazette, 23d March 1702, shews: "The course of chemistrie at the laboratorie in the chyrurgeon apothecaries hall, Edinburgh, will begin this year upon Tuesday the fourth day of May." This course does not appear to have been given regularly every season. It consisted principally of the exhibition of a variety of pharmaceutical processes; and the lecturer was appointed by the corporation of surgeons.

that Paris was famous. The other medical departments were not occupied by professors of equal abilities. For a student, therefore, to possess every advantage for improving himself in his medical studies, it was deemed necessary to repair to Leyden, and attend Boerhaave's lectures on chemistry,—the theory and practice of medicine,—his clinical lectures in the hospital,—and prelections on botany. Dr Crawfurd had been Booerhaave's pupil; and it is probable that the taste which he had formed for chemistry, under his great master, induced him, upon his return to his native country, to propose the foundation of a profession of that science in the college of Edinburgh. There appears to be no reason to doubt of the proposal having proceeded from the Doctor, because the terms of his admission were the same with those offered to Mr Craig, professor of civil law. He was to receive no salary from the Town-council; but two rooms in the college were allotted to him. It is impossible now to describe how he was attended. From a manuscript of the late Dr Monro (which will be afterwards mentioned), it appears that he only gave a course of chemistry *sometimes;* so that the encouragement which he received was not sufficient to induce him to deliver an annual course.

The celebrated Dr Archibald Pitcairn, professor of medicine in the university,* died on the twenty-

* This professorship was merely nominal, for he never gave any lectures, notwithstanding what Niceron says, in his life of Bellini,

third of October 1713. He was born at Edinburgh upon 25th December 1652. His father, Alexander, was one of the Bailies of the city; but it was at the school of Dalkeith that he was instructed in the first elements of learning. In 1667, he entered the university of Edinburgh, and went through a regular course, under Mr William Paterson; so that Principal Carstares and he were of the same standing; and it was in consequence of being fellow students, and possessing a similar taste for classical learning, that they formed so intimate a friendship; which, notwithstanding the very different political sentiments they afterwards espoused, never interrupted their mutual esteem, nor the exercise of those benevolent affections which they both possessed in a very eminent degree. In 1671, at the usual time, Pitcairn took his degree of master of arts; but seems to have been undetermined whether he should finally fix upon theology or law as his profession. Though his studies were then desultory, yet his ardour in the pursuit of miscellaneous knowledge was so great, that it injured his health. For a considerable time he studied law, until he was advised by his physicians to relinquish the idea of becoming a barrister, and to repair to the south of France, being threatened with consumption. The air of Montpellier

" Bellini a eu cette gloire que ses ouvrages ont ètès lûs et expliquès publiquement dès son vivant dans l'Universitè d'Ecosse par M. Pitcarn."—Mem. pour servir a l'Histoire des Hommes Illustres, vol. v. p. 348.

was the means of restoring him to health; and being persuaded that the practice of the law was an unsuitable profession to one of his constitution, he is represented as having determined, whilst in France, and without consulting his father, to apply himself to medicine. Upon his return to Scotland, he formed an intimacy with the celebrated Dr David Gregory, which led him to cultivate the mathematics more particularly than he had done before. There being no opportunity of studying medicine in Scotland at that time, he repaired to Paris in 1675, and attended the anatomical theatre of *Duverney*, who had just commenced his splendid career, being appointed professor of anatomy to the Dauphin. He profited much by the instructions of this eloquent lecturer; and through life retained the most grateful recollection of the numerous obligations under which he lay to Duverney. It is uncertain how long he remained in France; but he received the degree of doctor of medicine from the faculty at Rheims in 1680. Upon his return to Scotland, he very rapidly got into extensive practice, and was one of the founders of the Edinburgh Royal College of Physicians in 1681. The date of the different treatises which he published is unknown; but it is generally agreed that his "*Solutio Problematis de Inventoribus*" was among the first, and it was published in 1688. In this treatise, he vindicates Harvey's right to the discovery of the circulation of the blood. The general propositions he lays down, as the tests by which the originality of

any discovery is to be determined, indicate a comprehensive acquaintance with the laws of evidence; and his reasoning upon them is very ingenious. Dacier, in his translation of Hippocrates, had pretended that the father of physic was perfectly acquainted with the circulation of the blood. Pitcairn's object was, to prove that the writings of that celebrated ancient contain no such doctrine; but, on the contrary, afford abundant evidence of his having maintained a very opposite theory. In the course of this argument, he shews that he was intimately acquainted with the works of Hippocrates. The discovery of the circulation overturned many of the medical theories which then prevailed. Those who had espoused the chemical hypotheses of Galen were particularly unwilling to acknowledge its truth; whilst, on the other hand, the admirers of the mechanical philosophy imagined that it was completely demonstrated; and that, by the application of mathematical reasoning, it alone could explain the animal economy.

In 1692, so great was Pitcairn's fame, that the curators of the university of Leyden invited him to be professor of physic. This flattering offer he seems to have willingly accepted; and, accordingly, he delivered his inauguratory oration upon the 26th April of the same year, in which he attempts to shew the only proper method by which medicine could be improved. This oration, which was immediately printed, raised the author's reputation so much, that the curators added one half to his salary. He re-

turned, nevertheless, to his native country in 1693, and married the daughter of Sir Archibald Stevenson, the king's physician for Scotland. His new connexions would not consent to his going to Holland. He, therefore, resigned his professorship, to the great regret of the curators of the university. Boerhaave, who attended his lectures, always acknowledged him as his master, spoke of his works in the most respectful terms, and may be considered as the most distinguished of his followers.

Dr Pitcairn superintended an edition of the dissertations he was willing to acknowledge; and they were published about four months before his death. He was then in very bad health. The dedication prefixed to these medical essays is very uncommon; and, whilst it discovers a whimsicality of character, which the Doctor sometimes indulged, also proves the warmth of his attachment to the unfortunate House of Stuart. It is thus expressed,—"*Deo suo et Principi opus hoc consecrat Archibaldus Pitcarnius, Scotus.* 10 *Junii* 1713." The Doctor was a very decided character; and the keenness of his feelings were such, that he entertained no idea of not giving way to the spontaneous expressions of those feelings. Thus, his easy circumstances in life gave him an opportunity of indulging a propensity which many men of genius have been compelled to restrain, and, considering the mixed scene which this world presents, is ultimately productive of consequences very beneficial to society.

His attack upon Sir Robert Sibbald, in a pamphlet, entitled, "*Dissertatio de legibus Historiæ Naturalis*," published in 1696, his biographers have been at a loss to explain. To a person of Dr Pitcairn's acuteness, and in the state of health he then was, perhaps also irritated somewhat at Sir Robert's political conduct; it need not afford matter of surprise, if he examined Sir Robert's *Prodromus* with great severity. Sibbald appears to have been open and undesigning; like all weak men, fond of flattery, but attached to science; and his labours in this respect were most indefatigable. A difference upon any great political measure could never have induced Dr Pitcairn to have criticised his work so unmercifully as he has done. Most probably it was occasioned by private difference of sentiment upon some point which is now unknown; and as Pitcairn was not in good health at the time, he was not sparing in his animadversions. Sir Robert had also spoken disrespectfully of the application of mathematical reasoning to medicine. This, independently of every other consideration, furnished sufficient occasion for a misunderstanding. Sibbald is accused of having seen very little of Scotland, his time having been spent in practising medicine in Edinburgh. We are informed, also, that his studies at Leyden only continued for eighteen months; and that, after residing a twelvemonth at Angers, he graduated. He is accused of being ignorant of natural history, botany, zoology, and geography; and to have borrowed

from Ray, Sutherland, and others, besides transcribing from Bleau. Sibbald had dispersed queries through Scotland, and requested information from those he imagined were best qualified to communicate what he wished to obtain. As the result of this, he is taunted with having discovered wild oxen with manes, beavers, badgers resembling swine, nightingales, &c. in Scotland. The admirers of Dr Pitcairn seem to have been unwilling to acknowledge that he was the author of this review; but impartial posterity have fully ascertained the fact.* But there was no necessity for proving this dissertation to be spurious, in order to shew that the two Doctors were on good terms; because the epigram on Sibbald, after his death, clearly demonstrates the contempt in which Pitcairn held him.

Whatever taste Pitcairn might have retained for prosecuting medical science, his poems afford the most convincing proofs of the great interest which he took in the common topics of the day. His epigrammatic wit was exceedingly poignant; and, among the ancients, he seems to have proposed Catullus and Martial as his models. A very competent judge, the late Lord Woodhouselee, has observed,

* The learned and indefatigable Mr Chalmers has completely settled this point. His words are: "Of this tract, which is in my collection, the following is the title page, Archibaldi Pitcarnii Dissertatio de legibus Historiæ Naturalis. Edinburgi, Typis Joannis Reid, et sumptibus Thomæ Carruthers, apud quem veneunt. Ann. Dom. 1696."—Chalmers' Life of Ruddiman, p. 30.

with justice, that "the poems of Pitcairn, which have the merit of excellent latinity, easy and spirited numbers, must have had a poignant relish in his own age, from the very circumstances which render them little interesting to ours."* Whether they happen to be encomiastic or satirical, something personal is invariably introduced, which his contemporaries could not fail to enter into with great avidity. In his political principles, he was decidedly hostile to the Revolution of 1688; and these he did not hesitate to make generally known in his poems, which were at first handed about in manuscript among his acquaintance. So personal are some of them, that it is astonishing that Ruddiman, who was an equally keen jacobite, durst venture to publish them in 1727. Pitcairn was not only the first physician, but the greatest wit, of his time. Many of his *bon mots* are still remembered in Scotland, which sometimes put him to a good deal of trouble. We are informed by Lord Fountainhall,† that, on 12th July 1712, Dr Pitcairn instituted a process before the Court of Session against the Reverend James Webster, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, for accusing him of being a professed deist. The conversation, upon which the charge was founded, took place at a public dinner given by the magistrates of Edinburgh, to which Mr Robert Freebairn, one of the Doctor's most inti-

* Life of Lord Kames, vol. i. p. 6.

† Decisions, vol. ii. p. 756.

mate friends,* had been invited, who was a bookseller. Freebairn had set up to auction "the Life of Apollonius Tyanæus, by Philostratus," for which there were many bidders, and it sold high. At the same auction, a Bible was put up for sale, for which none present offered any thing. Upon one of the company regretting the depraved taste of the times, Dr Pitcairn observed, "It was no wonder it stuck in their hands, for *verbum Dei manet in æternum.*" This process was carried on with great zeal on both sides; but the Court recommended it to the Lord Justice-Clerk, Adam Cockburn of Ormiston, to endeavour to settle the parties amicably; which was at last effected. Though none of Pitcairn's biographers have mentioned it, I presume that he was of the episcopal persuasion; and yet, upon 5th April 1710, "the council, upon a petition given in by Mr Archibald Pitcairn, doctor of medicine, preferred him to the possession of that seat in the Tron Kirk formerly possessed by Sir Archibald Stevenson, doctor of medicine."†

* *Vid.* Pitcarnii Poemata, p. 52.

† Counc. Regist. vol. xxxix. p. 182.

CHAPTER X.

The Rebellion 1715—Principal Wisheart—Professorship of Church History—Of Civil History—The Foundation of the Medical School.

THE differences that had taken place between the patrons and the professors, and of which some account has been already given, were at last accommodated to the satisfaction of both parties. In testimony of which, the magistrates presented them with the freedom of the city. Every thing being thus amicably adjusted, and the professors possessing the full confidence of all ranks in the country, the university began to be more flourishing than it had ever been before, when an unfortunate event interrupted, for a short time, the peace of the college, as well as of the country at large. This was the rebellion of 1715.

It seems to be now universally admitted, notwithstanding the apparent determination of Queen Anne to pursue the same course which William had so successfully adopted, that, after she despaired of having any children to succeed to the throne, and

particularly for the last four years of her reign, her inclinations were strongly bent towards the exiled family, her own nearest relations, and whom she considered as possessing the only just right to the crown. There was a very considerable party in England in the interest of the House of Stuart; but it is well known that the great body of the people of Scotland had espoused their cause in the warmest manner. The pretended cause of disaffection at this time was the union; and imagining this to be a proper season for accomplishing their ends, upon 14th December 1714, an advertisement was placarded throughout the city, inviting all merchants, tradesmen, and inhabitants, to concur and assist, not only in forcing the Lord Provost to sign an address to his Majesty King George for dissolving of the union, but also in fining and sacrificing the said Lord Provost, and all others who shall refuse to sign the same.* A reward of fifty pounds sterling was offered for the discovery of the author, but produced no effect. When the country was in so agitated a state, it is not surprising that the ordinary business of the university was most materially interrupted, and the number of students that repaired to it considerably lessened. The university of Edinburgh was not singular in this respect, because similar effects were produced upon all the seminaries in the kingdom. How ardent soever the friends of the

* Original letters, &c. relating to the rebellion 1715, p. 9, 10, published by Mr Crauford, from the Lord Justice-Clerk's Letters.

exiled family might be in the success of their cause, their deficiency in men and money was so great, as to render their attempt speedily abortive: So that this, combined with the energetic measures adopted by the Duke of Argyle, restored tranquillity to Scotland towards the end of the year 1715.

Upon the decease of Mr Carstares, the Reverend William Wisheart succeeded as principal.* He had formerly been one of the ministers of South Leith; and, at the time of his election, was one of the ministers of the Tron Church. He discharged the duties of this office for about fifteen years.

I have not been able to ascertain whether it was in consequence of Mr Cumming having demitted his office as professor of ecclesiastical history, in consequence of the manner in which he had been appointed, and of which an account has been already given; but the patrons "recommended to the committee for the affairs of the college to receive Mr William Dunlop, second professor of divinity in the said college, upon his late majesty's mortification, who has a presentation thereto from his present majesty King George.† No farther notice appears to

* Principal Wisheart's father was minister of Kinneil in Linlithgowshire. His son Sir George attained to the highest rank in the army; his son Sir James distinguished himself at the capture of Gibraltar; and another son, who shall be mentioned, was Principal of the University of Edinburgh. The first Wisheart was the author of what was a very popular work, entitled *Theologia*, or Discourses of God, delivered in 120 sermons, 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1716.

† Counc. Regist. vol. xlii. p. 47.

be taken of it in the records, nor how long he retained that situation, nor any thing respecting his future history. There can be no doubt, however, of his having been inducted to the office of professor of ecclesiastical history. Perhaps the formality of a recommendation to the committee was in consequence of the misunderstanding occasioned by the mode in which Mr Cumming was introduced. His successor in the chair is regius professor of divinity. When Professor Hamilton was admitted, as has been already mentioned, he was not allowed to possess a ministerial charge in the city; but this restraint was afterwards taken off; and he was empowered to do so, provided an opportunity offered. In 1718, a motion was made in council, "to give the professors of divinity and church history charges; but the council opposed it, and assigned this reason,—"Because the persons thus elected in this manner are the reverend professor of divinity, and the learned professor of church history. The former whereof has such weighty employment on his hands in his present station, that he cannot be thought willing or capable to discharge even half a ministerial charge; and yet, in this manner, he is in danger of being overloaded with a whole charge, seeing, in the event of the professor of history's demise, he must needs take both charges upon him, in case his Majesty should present a layman to the professorship of history, or the person he presents be disqualified for the ministry of this city, for want of that

fluency and elegancy of expression, and justness of thought, which is needful and requisite."* In order to explain this, it is necessary to observe, that the inhabitants of Edinburgh could not obtain accommodation in the churches, the population was so disproportionately great. The council, finding it inconvenient at the time to build a new church, took a short lease of Skinners' Hall, let the seats to such as were inclined; and the clergy of Edinburgh gratuitously officiated in rotation. The two professors offered to supply this place, provided some addition was made to the salary they derived from the college; but the plan did not succeed at this time.

It does not appear for what reason the patrons considered it necessary, in August 1719, to publish, "that all professors and masters are declared to hold their office during the council's pleasure."† We shall find immediately, that, in the course of a few days, they erected a new professorship, and considerably increased the salary of two other professors. It was probably to guard against any abuse of the exercise of this discretionary power, that they determined to make this known; because the words of the charter are express, and are incapable of being misconstrued, and most unquestionably invest them with such a power;‡ but it must be accompanied

* Counc. Regist. vol. xlv. p. 166. † Ibid. vol. xlvii. p. 44.

‡ Ac etiam præfati Præpositus, Ballivi, et Consules, ac eorum successores, cum avisamento tamen eorum ministrorum, pro perpetuo in posterum plenam habeant libertatem, personas ad dictas profes-

with the advice of the clergy of the city of Edinburgh. It has only been exerted three or four times since the foundation of the college; and, much to the credit of the patrons, always with moderation. Since such is the law of the land, it is needless to inquire at present into the expediency or propriety of the power. I doubt, however, whether it be applicable to any of the regius professors.

The Town-council at this time proceeded in the work of improving the opportunities of instruction in the university; and, therefore, appointed Mr Charles Macky professor of civil history, and allowed him L.50 out of the petty port customs. This gentleman was bred to the profession of the law, and had been educated in the family of Principal Carstares; and it is to him that we in a great measure owe the information concerning the Principal's former history, and the preservation of those state papers which throw so great light upon the political transactions of the reign of William. Upon the death of Mrs Carstares, these papers came into his hands as her executor.*

siones edocendas, maxime idoneas, uti magis convenienter poterint, eligendi, cum potestate imponendi et *removendi ipsos sicuti expedivevit.—Vid.* the University charter, App. No. I. vol. i.

* When Mr Macky received his appointment, the salary of Mr James Gregory, professor of mathematics, was raised to 1000 merks, being formerly only 600; and that of Dr James Crauford to 900, being formerly limited to 700. The last mentioned is expressly

The minute of the Town-council, which contained his appointment, assigned very satisfactory reasons for such a foundation.*

"*Edinburgh, 28th August* 1719.

"The council, considering the great advantages that arise to the nation from the encouragement of learning, by the establishment of such professions in our colleges, as enable our youth to study with equal advantages at home as they do abroad; and considering the advantages that arise to this city in particular, from the reputation that the professors of the liberal arts and sciences have justly acquired to themselves in the said college; and that a profession of universal history is extremely necessary to complete the same, this profession being very much esteemed, and the most attended, of any one profession at all the universities abroad, and yet nowhere set up in any of our colleges in Scotland; and considering that the expence with which the setting up thereof must be attended, make it necessary for the council to favour it in its infancy, by giving a reasonable encouragement to any well qualified person whom they shall happen to chuse to be professor thereof; and considering, that although the Town's revenues cannot afford the continuance of this al-

styled a doctor of medicine; which has induced me to hazard as a conjecture, that he was the same person that had held the professorship of chemistry.

* Counc. Regist. vol. xvlii. p. 47.

lowance after 1st July 1723, at which time the petty port customs are declared to cease,—they agree, &c. to allow L.50 sterling during the council's pleasure." Upon the assurance, however, that the term of the act would be extended, they, in 1722, again appointed Mr Macky "to give colleges upon the history of Scotland in particular, and upon the Roman, Greek, and British antiquities."

The purposes that the institution of this professorship were intended to serve were the most laudable which can be imagined. We have had repeated occasion to take notice of the very intimate connexion which had existed for so long a period between the Dutch universities and the Scotish youth; and that the education of our most eminent lawyers and divines was in general completed at these foreign seminaries. The universal history class, therefore, was proposed to be in express imitation of what was established in that country. In Leyden and in Utrecht there were two professors in each university, whose business it was to go over similar ground to what was prescribed to Mr Macky by the patrons, as the subjects to which he was principally to direct his attention. But there was also a considerable difference between them. They all were professors of civil history, of Greek and Roman antiquities, and were commanded to have a particular respect to the history and institutions of their native country. But in Holland they were also professors of eloquence, or

of the art of criticism, and of the Greek language; and, in the course of their lectures, they always explained select passages of the Greek and Latin classics, pointing out, as they proceeded, the beauties, in sentiment or expression, which occurred. They also entered at considerable length upon an explication of the general principles of politics, which, excepting by way of shortly illustrating the events he had occasion to introduce in his narrative, was not included in Mr Macky's province. The truth is, that the number of professors was too few; and, therefore, to render the course of instruction as complete as possible, they were under the necessity of introducing many subjects which they had not time to investigate fully.

It is a well known fact, that this class was in those days better attended abroad than any other; and, considering the manner in which the subjects were handled, that it formed an interesting introduction to general literature and to philosophy, it need excite no surprize. The unacquaintance of Scotsmen with the history of their native country was in those days very great; and, even after the indefatigable exertions of antiquarians and historians of great critical sagacity and distinguished genius, our information respecting the Scotish annals of an early date is extremely scanty; and the evidence in regard to many comparatively recent transactions is exceedingly problematical. Buchanan's history had been recommended to, and indeed put into the

hands of the youth in the course of the seventeenth century; but so eager were the contending parties, that though the elegance of his style, and the skill he shewed in the narrative, were frankly admitted, yet they held no medium in their sentiments respecting the fidelity of his character as an historian. He was immaculate in the estimation of his friends; whilst his enemies did not hesitate to accuse him of having violated every moral principle.

The Honourable the Faculty of Advocates took great interest in the success of the course of lectures given by Mr Macky, and therefore patronized the institution. The professor had been appointed by the Town-Council alone; but, in consequence of the exertions of the advocates, matters were so arranged, that their interference should be so far acknowledged, that, upon the event of a vacancy, they should nominate two persons, one of whom was to be chosen by the council. They have uniformly presented members of their own society, though under no necessary obligation to do so.

The study of the law of Scotland is intimately connected with its history and antiquities; and he who is not conversant with those of Greece and Rome, cannot expect to make much progress in this curious and profitable pursuit. Many acute, though ignorant, men have acquired large fortunes in this country by the profession of the law, who never studied it as a science; but, in consequence of practising it as an art, are acquainted with the routine of

business; and, because they find that this answers every purpose they have in view, are not solicitous about investigations which contribute little to their pecuniary advantage. But, to the great constitutional lawyer, the man of enlarged views, the history and antiquities of his country present a field of most interesting inquiry. How long Mr Macky continued to give lectures is uncertain; but, in 1753, the state of his health rendered it necessary for him to apply for the assistance of a colleague; and, upon 4th December 1765, he, in a very formal manner, sent in his resignation to the patrons. His knowledge was very accurate; and he had examined the subjects it was his duty to prelect on with great diligence; and, besides, was a man of singular modesty and integrity.

We are now arrived at a most important era in the history of the university,—the foundation of the medical school. Some ineffectual attempts had been made, previous to this period, to establish a seminary in Edinburgh, in which the youth who had chosen the practice of medicine as their profession might have an opportunity of being instructed at home; and thus the labour and expence of repairing to a foreign university would be spared. But many causes then concurred to prevent this excellent plan from succeeding in Scotland as well as in England.

It must appear evident, upon the smallest reflection, that, without a knowledge of anatomy, no progress can be made either in surgery or physic. A know-

ledge of the curious construction of the human body, the manner of its different functions, and the means by which those may be regulated, and aberrations corrected, cannot be otherwise obtained. The human body, then, is the great subject upon which medical practitioners are called to exercise their skill; and all their knowledge and experience are only valuable in proportion as they are subservient to the promotion of its benefit. This fact, so obvious in itself, could not fail to occur to mankind in the earliest stage of society. One of the best methods by which the living could be most effectually advantaged, or, in other words, an acquaintance with the mode of the prevention and the cure of disease could be acquired, is the dissection of the dead; and yet many causes concurred to render this practice not only unpopular, but constituted it a heinous offence against municipal law, were it in any instance to be attempted. From a principle of sympathy inherent in our natures, we instinctively annex the idea of pain to the laceration of the members even of a dead person, to which our own sense of self-preservation constitutes a most powerful auxiliary. This, when seconded by the ties of natural affection, consanguinity, and the universal persuasion that, when the living principle deserts its mansion, it is only a temporary suspension of that familiar intercourse which formerly existed, but shall soon be renewed, shews that such prejudices are susceptible of an easy explanation. The religious rites respecting the burial of the dead, which,

in most instances, degenerated into little more than incense to the living, rivetted the disinclination of mankind to the study of anatomy to so great a degree, that, in some nations, a complete check was given, by legal authority, to any progress in the knowledge of the structure of the human body. On some occasions, pollution was incurred by touching the dead; and, from a similar desire to prevent infection, and to promote cleanliness, the bodies of the dead were burned. As christianity spread, this practice by degrees gave place to inhumation; but the ceremonies which were gradually introduced by the church into the funeral service, were inauspicious to the study of anatomy. Laws, accompanied with the most severe sanctions, were promulgated against raising the dead. So that mankind remained for ages grossly ignorant of the animal economy. Any information they possessed was obtained from the inspection of the bodies of inferior animals; so that their reasonings were entirely derived from supposed analogies.

Mundinus is represented as the first European who publicly dissected a human body. This was in 1306,* and again at Milan in 1315. Nothing of the kind was attempted at Paris till 1494. At the revival of learning, Italy took the lead in medicine, as well as in the other sciences; and for many years contained a greater number of eminent anatomists than all

* Vicq. D'Azyr.

Europe besides. Multitudes flocked to Padua, Pisa and Rome; and, after studying under the celebrated professsors who for many years supported the reputation of those seminaries, not only spread the knowledge they had acquired, but communicated new ardour to their countrymen to prosecute the same studies. Many of these pupils being of distinguished abilities, and most enthusiastic in the cultivation of natural science, succeeded in imparting to France, to Holland, and to England, a taste for their favourite pursuits. A few Scotsmen had distinguished themselves in foreign universities, such as Dr Liddle, at Helmstad; Dr Morrison, at Oxford; and Dr Pitcairn, at Leyden; Sir Andrew Balfour and Dr Sibbald, whose exertions for the advancement of medical science deserve also to be mentioned in this place;—but their labours were not to be compared with those of Dr Pitcairn.

This extraordinary man, who left an indelible impression wherever he went, or to whatever subject he directed his attention, lamented exceedingly the confined nature of the medical education in Edinburgh. We are told,* "That, on the 14th of October 1694, Dr Pitcairn informed Dr Robert Grey of London of his being very busy in seeking a liberty from the Town-council of Edinburgh to open the bodies of those poor persons who die in *Paul's Work*, and have none to bury them." "We offer," says he, "to

* Chalmers' Life of Ruddiman, p. 30. There are some trifling inaccuracies in this note, which it is needless to specify.

hit on these poor for nothing, and bury them after dissection at our own charges, which now the town does; yet there is great opposition by the chief surgeons, who neither eat hay, nor suffer the oxen to eat it. I do propose, if this be granted, to make better improvements in anatomy than have been made at Leyden these thirty years: For I think most or all anatomists have neglected, or not known, what was most useful for a physician." There can be little doubt that Pitcairn was the prime mover in the business of making application to the Town council, though he did not chuse to appear publicly in the business. He was probably restrained from doing this, both because he was a physician, and on account of his political principles being so very hostile to the ruling party in the council. The person who was associated with him in this laudable attempt was Mr Alexander Monteith, a member of the corporation of surgeons; and, as a proof that he had no objection to take the oaths to government, he was *convener* of the trades in 1699. He must have been a man of very considerable professional abilities; and Dr Pitcairn speaks of him in the warmest terms of commendation, "as an excellent man, an eminent surgeon, and well acquainted with chemistry."* Under the sanction of the corporation

* His words are; "Cum multis de causis suspicatus essem, naturam opii similem indoli salium ex cornu cervi prodeuntium elici deberi, persuasi Alexandro Monteitho, viro optimo et insigni chirurgo, atque in arte Chymica versatissimo ut opium chymice tractaret,"

of surgeons, he delivered lectures in their hall on chemistry and the *materia medica.*

The proposal made to the magistrates was expressed in the following terms:—

"*Edinburgh, 24th October* 1694.

"The Petition of Alexander Monteith, chirurgeon, burgess of Edinburgh.

"*Shewing,*

"That whereas the improvement of anatomy is of so universal concern, that the practice thereof is encouraged in all nations and cities where the health of the bodies of men are regarded; and being confident of the council's forwardness for encouraging so necessary a work in this city, the petitioner humbly proposes, that, if the council would be pleased to grant unto the petitioner a gift of those bodies that die in the correction-house, and the bodies of foundlings that die upon the breast, and allow a convenient place for dissection, and the use of the college church-yard for their burials, he would not only lay himself out for the improving of anatomy, but also

&c. In the Edinburgh Gazette, of 8th May 1699, there is the following advertisement:—"Upon Monday the first of June next, at the laboratory in the chirurgeon apothecaries hall, there will begin a course of *chymie*, in which all the useful operations and preparations will be performed. The course will continue six weeks, and will be concluded with a short description of the whole *materia medica*, by Alexander Monteith, chirurgeon apothecary in Edinburgh."

would serve a chirurgeon to the Town's poor *gratis;* the Good Town always allowing him the expences of his drugs at the rate he paid himself, without any profit. And in case any person who may happen to be concerned desire the body to be buried, he was content to be obliged to deliver the same unto them, they paying the Good Town the expences they have been at upon the person while alive. And seeing the proposal seemed to be so advantageous to the Town, he humbly expected the council would consider thereof, and would not be wanting to encourage so necessary a work. Craving, therefore, the council to consider the premises, and what advantage the same may be of, not only to the interest of that city, but to the whole kingdom; and thereupon to grant the bodies that die upon the breast, and an convenient house for dissection, and the use of the church-yard, upon the terms above proposed," &c.

"Which being considered by the council, they think it both convenient and necessary to give a beginning to the practice of anatomy in this city; and, therefore, they grant the desire of the petition, under the restrictions after mentioned, *viz. First,* That none shall be comprehended under this act, except such as are sent to the correction-house by a judicial act for gross immoralities proven against them, and the bodies of foundlings dying on the breast. *Secondly,* That the dissection of the dead bodies shall be from one equinox to the other, including the winter sea-

son only. *Thirdly*, That, notwithstanding the same is restricted to the winter season, yet all the gross *intestines* shall be buried within forty-eight hours, and the whole entire body shall be buried in the same place within ten labouring days next thereafter, upon the petitioner's expence. *Fourthly*, That if any friends, or others concerned in those deceased within the correction-house, or of foundlings, shall desire to have the bodies buried, in that case it shall be allowed, providing they pay into the kirk treasurer what expences he hath been at upon the said deceased persons. *Fifthly*, That when the practice of anatomy, hereby encouraged, shall take effect, whatever the petitioner receives from others for giving them insight in that profession, he shall give accession to the apprentices of chirurgeons that serve for their freedom of this city, for one half less; reserving always to any of the magistrates to be present, if they think fit. And this grant of persons dying within the correction-house, and foundlings dying upon the breast, is given to the petitioner for thirteen years, he continuing so long in the profession and practice of chirurgery within this city; during which time he is to serve the whole Town's poor as chirurgeon *gratis*; declaring his entry as chirurgeon for the poor to be the 1st day of November next 1694; and for what drugs he shall necessarily furnish them, he is to be paid as the said drugs cost himself only: And, for the petitioner's further encouragement, they allow him any vacant waste room in the correction-

house, or any other thereabouts belonging to the Town: As also, they allow him to bury the said dead bodies in such a place of the college kirk-yard as the council shall appoint. Whereanent these presents shall be a warrant." *

Whether Mr Monteith had not consulted his brethren, or had carried it in opposition to them, is now forgotten; but, in a few days after the prayer of his petition was granted, the corporation of surgeons petitioned the council. The following minute is entered in regard to it.

"*2d November* 1694.

"The same day, anent a petition given in by the incorporation of the chirurgeons of Edinburgh, shewing, The petitioners understanding the council, for encouragement of so necessary a work as the improving of anatomy, have been pleased, by a bill given in to the council by Alexander Monteith, one of their number, to grant him a gift of these bodies that die in the correction-house, and the bodies of foundlings that die upon the breast, and to allow him a convenient house for dissection, and the use of the college kirk-yard for their burial: And the petitioners knowing that the improvement of anatomy is of so necessary import, that the same deserved to be very much encouraged; and the ground of their appearance against Mr Monteith's gift was only upon the

* Counc. Regist.

supposition that he had enhanced and monopolized the whole subjects of anatomical dissections. But finding that, besides these subjects that the council had been pleased to give, there were yet other subjects that might fall in the council's power to give the petitioners, *viz.* the dead bodies of foundlings, after they are off the breast, and the bodies of such as may be found dead upon the streets, and such as die a violent death,—all which shall have nobody to own them; upon which subjects the petitioners might make anatomical dissections, for the further and better improvement of anatomy: And being confident of the council's forwardness to encourage and promote so necessary a work, for the advantage that may redound, not only to this city, but to the whole kingdom: Craving, therefore, the council to take the premises to their serious consideration, and to grant the petitioners these subjects above named, for the use above specified, as they should have occasion to make use of the same: And they oblige them to bury the bodies they shall make use of after dissection, upon their own charges, as the petition bears. Which being considered by the council, they, notwithstanding of the above mentioned act in favours of Alexander Monteith, but prejudice thereto, allow to the petitioners the dead bodies of foundlings who die betwixt the time that they are weaned and their being put to schools or trades, while they remain upon the charges of the kirk, unless their friends, or those concerned, reimburse the kirk-treasurer whatever the

have cost the Town: As also, they allow the dead bodies of children stifled in the birth, which are exposed, and have none to own them; as also, the dead bodies of such as are *felo de se*,' where it is found unquestionable self-murder, and have none to own them; likewise the bodies of such as are put to death by sentence of the magistrate, and have none to own them; which includes what former pretences of that kind the petitioners have. The petitioners always burying the said dead bodies within ten free labouring days, upon their own charges, in what place they shall be appointed by the council; and that these presents shall take effect in the winter season only, which, in this case, is reckoned to be from the one equinox to the other: And it is hereby declared these presents are granted expressly upon condition that the petitioners shall, before the term of Michaelmas 1697, build, repair, and have in readiness, an anatomical theatre, where they shall, once a year (a subject offering), have a public anatomical dissection, as much as can be shewn upon one body; and, if they fail, these presents to be void and null."*

The Town council, as the conservators of the health of the public, acted very properly, when they adopted measures for securing the community from infection; yet one cannot help remarking how little acquainted they were with what was necessary to be

* Counc. Regist.

examined, before even a very superficial course of anatomical demonstrations could be given, so as to be of any real service to the students, when what was called *all the gross intestines* were to be buried within forty-eight hours. The art of injecting the vessels, and preserving the parts of animals, was then little known, and less practised. Many distinguished anatomists had directed their attention to the subject; and were well aware of the numerous advantages which would accompany the invention of methods by which preparations could be rendered of permanent utility to the study of anatomy, and our knowledge of the organization of animals be further extended. But such is the lot of man, that time, and the contributions of many individuals, are requisite, before any practical art especially can be brought to any tolerable degree of perfection. The methods invented by Swammerdam and Ruysch were purposely concealed, that their private emolument might sustain no injury. The public exhibition, however, of their cabinets of natural curiosities at Amsterdam, may be esteemed a new era in anatomy, as it stimulated the ingenuity of the European anatomists to rival, if not to excel, the preparations which were open for inspection in their extensive collections.

It was also expressly stipulated, "that the whole entire body shall be buried in the same place within ten labouring days;" which at once prevented the art of anatomical preparation being much improved, or even attempted, in Scotland at that time. This re-

gulation unquestionably proceeded from the vulgar notions respecting personal identity which then prevailed, and still bear sway, more or less, in every country.

There was one privilege which the corporation of surgeons enjoyed over Mr Monteith, that gave them considerable advantages. The bodies of all criminals that were unclaimed belonged to them as a perquisite; and this, of course, limited his request. An individual has little chance of effectually opposing the influence of a whole corporation. Regardless of Mr Monteith, therefore, they proceeded in accomplishing their plan, and, as the following minute shews, had not been deficient in diligence.

"*Edinburgh, 22d December* 1697.

"The same day, the council, considering their act of the date 2d November 1694 years, in favour of the incorporation of the chirurgeons of the city of Edinburgh, whereby, for certain allowances granted by them to the said incorporation, the chirurgeons are expressly obliged to build, repair, and have in readiness, before the term of Michaelmas 1697 years, an anatomical theatre, where they shall, once a year (a subject offering), have a public anatomical dissection, as much as can be shewn upon one body; and if they fail, the said act to be void and null. The council, therefore, remitted to a committee of their own number to see if the said condition was obtemperated; who accordingly reported, that the fore-

said theatre was in readiness, and furnished; and, therefore, were of opinion the foresaid act should be ratified by the council. Which being considered by the council, they, of new, have ratified, approven, and confirmed, and, by these presents, ratifies, approves, and confirms the foresaid act in favours of the said incorporation of the chirugeons, in the whole heads, clauses, and articles thereof, and to take effect in manner therein mentioned: And the council declares this public ratification to be as valid to the said incorporation, as if the forementioned act were inserted herein *verbatim*, wherewith the council dispenses."*

In consequence of the superior interest of the surgeons, and Mr Monteith's original plan not succeeding, he petitioned the Town-Council, upon 1st June 1698, for some remuneration. He was accordingly allowed four hundred pounds Scots. It does not appear that this resolution proceeded from disgust, or from any violent opposition to the corporation, with whom he seems to have been upon good terms. It was rather an amicable adjustment of the competition that existed between them; because, in 1699, he was deacon convener of the trades;† which at once proves that he was popular in his own corporation, and with the trades of Edinburgh in general. From some political cause, now unknown,

* Counc. Regist. vol. xxxvi. † Ibid. p. 440.

he was, upon 22d November of the same year, "suspended from being deacon and convener for a year and a day, by the privy council." This species of tyranny was then not uncommon; for the privy council usurped powers which were altogether unconstitutional, or, at least, that have been considered as such since the union of the kingdoms. I have been unable to discover any other trace of Mr Monteith; only that, in 1702, he delivered another course of chemistry at the Surgeons' Hall. He was undoubtedly the most eminent surgeon in Scotland in his time; and possessed general and extensive views respecting his profession, and much more liberal than commonly prevailed.

The corporation of surgeons never seem to have elected any of their number, whose particular duty it should be to give public instructions on anatomy; but to have trusted to the certainty of some of their own body readily undertaking it. But, in 1705, the inconveniences which attended such an indeterminate arrangement, induced them to assign this trust to an individual, who should make it his more pecular business, and be entitled to all the emoluments annexed to it. The following extract contains an account of what was done upon this occasion.

"*Edinburgh, 29th August 1705.*

"The which day, anent the petition given in by Robert Elliot, chirurgeon apothecary, burgess of

Edinburgh, shewing, that where it being the practice of the best regulated cities, to give encouragement to the professing and teaching of liberal arts and sciences for the education of youth, to the great benefit and advantage of the place; and the petitioner, by an act of the incorporation of the chirugeon apothecaries of this city, unanimously elected their public dissector of anatomy, the petitioner was of intention to make a public profession and teaching thereof for instruction of youth, to serve her Majesty's lieges both at home and abroad, in her armies and fleets, which he hoped, by the blessing of God, would be a mean in saving much money to the nation, expended in teaching anatomy in foreign places, beside the preventing of many dangers and inconveniences to which youth were exposed in their travels to other countries; and the petitioner finding this undertaking will prove expensive, and cannot be done without suitable encouragement, has, therefore, laid the matter before the council, who have been always ready to give encouragement to such undertakings; and, therefore, craved the council to consider the premises, and to remit to a committee of their number to hear and receive what proposals the petitioner had to make for setting up of the said profession, and to report, as the petition bears: Which being considered by the council, they remitted the consideration of the same to a committee of their number; who accordingly reported, that they having considered the above petition, were of opinion that

the profession of anatomy was very necessary and useful to this nation, and might be very helpful to the youth that follow that art, and might prevent much needless expence spent by them abroad. And in regard the petitioner was, by the incorporation of the chirurgeons, unanimously chosen for that effect, therefore, the committee were of opinion that the petitioner should have an yearly allowance of what sum the council should think fit, towards the encouragement and defraying his charges and expences thereanent; with this express provision and condition, that the petitioner take exact notice and inspection of the order and condition of the rarities of the college; and that an exact inventory be made of the same, and given in to the council; and also to keep the said rarities in good order and condition during the said allowance, as the report under the hands of the committee bears. Which being considered by the council, they, with the extraordinary deacons, approved thereof: And, for the petitioner's encouragement to go on in the said profession, they allow the petitioner L.15 sterling of yearly salary, during the council's pleasure," &c.*

Mr Elliot was accordingly regularly inducted; and was the first professor of anatomy in the university of Edinburgh. Marlborough was then in the very height of his reputation as a general; and the extended warfare then carried on occasioned a great

* Counc. Regist. vol. xxxviii. p. 352.

and increasing demand for medical men for all the branches of the service. This was the reason for introducing to the notice of the patrons the advantages which would accrue to the public service, by the erection of an anatomical chair in Edinburgh.

The principal disadvantage under which he laboured, was the difficulty he found in procuring subjects upon which he might give demonstrations to his pupils. This occasioned great inconveniency to him. It restrained him in the exercise of his office; and prevented him from being of that service to the public which he had proposed. The fact is, that a general alarm was excited, in consequence of giving a course of public lectures on anatomy, arising perhaps from its novelty, but certainly aggravated and inflamed by the rapidity of communication, on any popular subject, which takes place in society within a city so limited in extent as Edinburgh then was.

Whether this alarm was occasioned by some acts of imprudence committed by the students, or other causes, is not now known; but the corporation of surgeons found it necessary to vindicate themselves, as appears from the following minute.

Edinburgh, 20th May 1711.

"The which day, the deacon, masters, and brethren of the incorporation of the chirurgeon apothecaries of Edinburgh, being convened in their hall, and taking to their consideration that of late there has been a violation of the sepulchres in the Grey Friars

church-yard, by some, who most unchristianly have been stealing, or at least attempting to carry away, the bodies of the dead out of their graves, a practice to be abhorred by all good christians, and which, by the law of all nations, is severely punishable: But that which affects them most is, a scandalous report, most maliciously spread about the town, that some of their number are accessary, which they cannot allow themselves to think, considering that the magistrates of Edinburgh have been always ready and willing to allow them what dead bodies fell under their gift, and thereby plentifully supplied their theatre for many years past, which considerably aggravates the crime, if any of their number should be guilty thereof. They do therefore hereby declare their abhorrence of all such unnatural and unchristian practices; earnestly entreating the honourable magistrates to exert their utmost power they are capable in law, for the discovery of such an atrocious and wicked crime, that the authors, actors, and abettors thereof, may be brought to condign punishment. The deacon, masters, and brethren foresaid, on their part, and for the vindication of their board, have this day enacted, that if any of their number shall be found accessary to the violation of the sepulchres in the Grey Friars church-yard, or in any other burial-place whatsoever, or shall be convicted of having taken, or been accessary to the taking of any dead body out of the grave, they shall be expelled their society,—their names razed out of their

books,—their acts of admission torn,—and shall forfeit all the freedom and privileges they enjoy by being freemen of their incorporation: And if any apprentice or servant belonging to any of their number shall be found guilty of the foresaid crime, his name shall be expunged out of their books,—he shall forfeit the benefit of his indentures,—and shall be expelled his master's service with disgrace." *

Mr Robert Elliot died early in 1714. He is not known as an author; but, from the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed as a professor, he had it not in his power to carry into effect the liberal plans which he had proposed. The patrons, upon the 24th October, appointed Mr Adam Drummond as his successor. This gentleman being engaged in very extensive practice as a surgeon, was desirous to have an associate in the professorship, who might undertake the more laborious part of the duty, when an opportunity presented itself of exhibiting a public dissection. He himself had a great taste for the science and the improvement of his profession; and omitted no opportunity of testifying his zeal in this respect.† But the limitations already mentioned, which he laboured under in the discharge of his duty as a public professor, rendered it impossible for him to undertake, in the course of a few

* Counc. Regist. vol. xl. p. 106.

† Monro's Works, p. 672, 4to.

days, what he was desirous to accomplish. The person who was united with him in this office, and to whom he generously yielded up one-half of the emoluments, was Mr John Macgill, a young man of an enterprizing temper, and who had for a few years practised as a surgeon in Edinburgh, and was very much attached to the study of anatomy. In the fifteenth article of the second volume of *Medical Essays and Observations*, Mr Macgill gives "a history of the operation for an aneurism of the arm successfully performed," which a most excellent judge, the late Dr Monro, has pronounced to be "a curious and accurate account of the aneurism," and to have been most dexterously performed.* It attracted the Doctor's attention so much, that, in two papers immediately subsequent, in the same work, he enters upon the nature of the formation of aneurism, and which were professedly occasioned by his having witnessed the operation performed by Mr Macgill.

* Medical Essays, vol. ii. p. 231–249.

CHAPTER XI.

The same subject continued—Dr Monro Primus—And the Foundation of the Medical School of Edinburgh.

It was to the generous natures of Messrs Drummond and Macgill, to their sincere zeal for the progress of surgery and medical science in their native country, as well as their anxiety to patronize very distinguished merit in a young man, that Scotland, and the profession in general, are indebted for the introduction of the late celebrated Dr Alexander Monro to the profession of anatomy, who is justly considered as the founder of the medical school in Edinburgh.

"*Edinburgh 22d January* 1720.

"The same day, John Lauder, present deacon of the chirurgeons, and deacon-convener of the trades of this city, reported, That Mr Adam Drummond and John Macgill, conjunct professors of anatomy in this city and college, had, by their demissions, subscribed with their hands, of the date the 16th and 18th of January instant, demitted their of-

fices; and recommended Alexander Monro, chirurgeon, as a fit person, every way equal to the profession of anatomy. As also, the incorporation of chirurgeon apothecaries, by their act, the 21st January instant, did recommend the said Alexander Monro to the council, as a very sufficient man for the said profession. Which being considered by the council, they, with the extraordinary deacons, have accepted of their said demissions, and declared their said office vacant, and the council's acts in their favours void and null in all time coming. And the council, &c. have nominated and elected, and hereby nominate and elect, the said Alexander Monro to be professor of anatomy in this city and college during the council's pleasure; and allowed to him the yearly salary of fifteen pounds sterling, in use to be paid to Messrs Drummond and Macgill." *

Many years afterwards, Mr Monro, when his success in life had exceeded his own expectations, publicly testified his gratitude for this singular proof of real kindness; for, when he had occasion to speak of Mr Macgill, he describes him as " a gentleman to whom (says he) I stand indebted for many obliging acts of friendship." †

Dr Alexander Monro, *primus*, was born at Lon-

* Counc. Regist. vol. xlviii. p. 82.

† Medical Essays, vol. ii. p. 231.

don upon the eight of September O. S. 1697.* He was descended from the Monros of Bearcroft's; and his grandfather, Sir Alexander, was a colonel in the royal army at the battle of Worcester, where his brother David, who held the same rank, was killed. Having probably joined the royalists only through zeal for the cause, Sir Alexander was admitted a member of the faculty of advocates.† John, the father of the professor, was bred a surgeon; and after having served in the army under the Prince of Orange, and married his cousin, Jean Forbes, daughter to a brother of Forbes of Culloden, he repaired to Edinburgh, when young Monro was three years old. He became a member of the incorporation of surgeon apothecaries; and, in 1712, was elected deacon. He bestowed the greatest attention upon his son's education, who was an only child; and took care that he should be instructed "in the Latin, Greek, and French languages, philo-

* This account of Dr Monro is partly derived from the life prefixed to his works, and which was drawn up by his son, the late Dr Donald Monro of London, and partly from a manuscript life written by the Doctor himself, which, through the politeness of his grandson, the present professor, I had an opportunity of examining. It was never published.

† Upon 26th February 1662, according to Dr Donald Monro, he was appointed one of the principal clerks of session; but, in Aikman's manuscript collections, in the Advocate's Library, from which the list published by Lord Hailes was taken, he is represented as having been one of the commissaries.

sophy, arithmetic, and book-keeping." After having gone regularly through the usual course at the university of Edinburgh, he was bound apprentice to his father, who was now in extensive practice; and no means were neglected, which Edinburgh could afford, in order to promote his improvement in physic and surgery, and to cultivate the sterling talents which he discovered at a very early period. Though Edinburgh at that time scarcely deserved the name of a medical school, yet the incorporation of surgeons then contained members, who were not only respectable in their profession, but, by cultivating their talents, and zealously prosecuting the study of surgery at London and at foreign universities, possessed enlightened ideas respecting the proper method of improving their art; and cultivated that liberal communication of mutual intelligence which not only cherished a noble spirit of emulation, but led to new inventions in the practice of that delicate, but complicated art, to which they had devoted their lives.

Through the interest of his father, and his own agreeable manners, together with his well known eagerness to acquire anatomical knowledge, he was, when a very young man, permitted to assist at the anatomical dissections which occurred in the private practice of the Edinburgh surgeons. From the frequent opportunities he thus possessed of examining the morbid appearances which presented themselves, he derived great advantage. His father had been

appointed by the Town-council to take charge of their sick pensioners. These were more particularly put under his care; and, from the singular interest he had excited, in consequence of his extraordinary diligence, the physicians and surgeons were prevailed upon, when it was consistent with propriety, to let him attend their patients in uncommon cases. "He attended the demonstration of the pharmaceutical plants exhibited every year by Mr George Preston; a course of chemistry which Dr James Crauford sometimes gave; and the dissection of a human body, which was shewed once in two or three years by Mr Robert Elliot, and afterwards by Messrs Adam Drummond and John Macgill, surgeon apothecaries."* To all these advantages were added the daily instructions and advice of an affectionate parent, who spared no expence in furnishing him with proper books to assist him in his private studies; and providing such a chemical apparatus as enabled him to repeat at home the experiments which Dr Crauford exhibited in the class, or which his own reading or reflection might suggest. Thus, his opportunities of improving himself were superior to those of most students.

After having completed the legal term of his apprenticeship appointed by the corporation of surgeons, and applied with the most unremitting industry to his studies, he went to London in 1717.

* Manuscript Life.

His habits of application he carried along with him; and his youthful imagination contemplated with the most pleasing sensations the luxury in which he should have it in his power to indulge, in the prosecution of his anatomical studies in the capital. True genius is inseparable from a strong desire of knowledge; and the most unqualified testimony of actually possessing genius, is a spirit of unabating perseverance and application, directed to the peculiar object to which accident or any other cause has called the attention.

When Mr Monro arrived at London, he lodged with an apothecary, not only that he might improve himself in pharmacy, but, as this person was in good business, he was desirous to profit by his mode of practice. Accordingly, he was indulged with the liberty of visiting with him. This, however, was only occasional, because he attended the lectures of Messrs Whiston and Hawksbee on natural philosophy. These gentlemen, in imitation of Dr Keil, continued to give lectures for a considerable number of years; and, in those days, no medical student was considered to have received a liberal education, who had neglected to improve such opportunities of becoming acquainted with physics. This, besides the propriety of the thing, was then more insisted on, in consequence of the great discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton, and the impression they had produced upon the mind of the public. There can be only one opinion respecting the numerous advantages which a

medical practitioner, especially must derive from mechanical philosophy; and, accordingly, in the course of a regular medical education, it has always been recommended.*

The chief inducement, however, which he had for repairing to London, was to profit by the anatomical demonstrations of Mr William Cheselden, who, even at this early period of his illustrious career, had risen into notice, both from his professional dexterity as a surgeon, and the clearness and precision of his public lectures. In 1710, this eminent man had commenced as a public teacher of anatomy, when only twenty-two years of age; and so rapidly did his fame extend, that in a very few years he was known in every medical school in Europe. Under the inspection of this excellent anatomist, he employed himself "in assiduously dissecting human bodies, of which he was furnished with more than, with the utmost application, he could make use of; for he tried so many different ways of searching for such parts of the body as he wished to examine, that it was afterwards almost indifferent to him what situation his subjects were in when he was to operate."†

* Boerhaave's Methodus Studii Medici was not published till 1726. This work was republished by the celebrated Haller in 1751, and illustrated, as we are informed in the preface, by references to about thirty thousand different treatises; the best specimen of a *catalogue raisonné*, upon an important branch of science, which has as yet been given to the world.

† Manuscript Life.

Cheselden possessed the talent not only of being an eloquent lecturer, as far as the subject was susceptible of it, but the art also of interesting his pupils, who possessed genius, so much in the demonstrations which he gave, that he seldom failed in communicating to them a decided preference for anatomy, the foundation of all medical science. An enthusiast himself in the profession, it afforded him the greatest pleasure to gratify the laudable curiosity of the youth, and by every means in his power to cherish an emulation to excel. For this purpose, he encouraged his pupils to form themselves into a society for their mutual improvement; and his theatre was at their service. Mr Monro distinguished himself among this band of young philosophers. As none were allowed to be present but such as were of their own fraternity, they formed the resolution of giving lectures in their turns on the different organs; an experiment which to some may appear romantic, and even ludicrous; but, upon more mature reflection, it will be admitted, that how paradoxical soever it may at first appear, the best means of becoming master of any science, is to be under the necessity of teaching it. These lecturers were sometimes absent; and Mr Monro was entreated to be demonstrator. By papers still remaining, it appears that his account of the bones in general, and Dr Rutty's treatise on the urinary passages, were first sketched for this society.* "Too much diligence in dissecting, once

* These two fellow students commenced authors in the course of the same year, 1726. It was through the influence of Dr Rutty,

brought the operator into hazard of his life; for, by examining too freely the suppurated lungs of a phthisical man, when his hands had been accidentally scratched, they soon after inflamed, and the swelling extended to his shoulders, which made Dr James Douglas think that he would at least lose one of his arms; but one suppuration in the right wrist, and three in the left hand, with some doses of physic, cured him." *

Cheselden and he were not only kindred spirits, in being totally devoted to the cultivation of the same science, but, from the connexion of preceptor and pupil, they formed a strict friendship, honourable to both parties, which received no interruption till the death of the former. The first draughts of his observations upon the nerves and the *thoracic duct* were added to Cheselden's anatomy. This was a public testimony that the promotion of the science was their object; and that they held in contempt the petty jealousies which agitate men of weaker minds.

"A great number of preparations of the different organs, the fruits of these dissections, were sent home to his father, when he was intending to leave London, to go for Paris, in the beginning of the spring 1718. The father, vain of his son's performances, shewed them to many curious people who asked to

who was a Quaker, that the celebrated Dr Fothergill repaired to Edinburgh, and became a pupil of Mr Monro's. Fothergill graduated here in 1736.

* Manuscript Life.

see them; and, at the solicitation of the college of physicians and board of surgeons, made a present of many of them to these societies, to be put in their repositories. Mr Adam Drummond was so well pleased with them, that he desired old Mr Monro to write his son to continue his diligence in anatomy; for, so soon as his son returned home, he would demit his share of the profession of anatomy in his favour.

"At Paris, he attended the botanical lectures and demonstrations in the *Jardin du Roi*; was shewed the dispensatory plants by M. Chomel in his private garden; and had a little course of chemistry from him. He attended the discourses in *L'Ecole des Medicins*, and at the visits of the physicians and surgeons in the hospitals *La Charité* and *L'Hotel Dieu*; in which last place he had a course of anatomy from M. Bouquet; and performed all the operations of surgery under the direction of M. Thibaut, and of some other *Compagnons* of that hospital, who allowed him to examine the state of the urinary organs of those who died after having undergone the operation of lithotomy in autumn. He likewise was a pupil of Mr Gregoire for *accouchemens*, or delivery of women, and of Cessau for bandages; but always regretted that Mr Winslow, to whose acquaintance he was introduced, gave no course of anatomy while he staid at Paris.

Towards autumn, he set out for Leyden, where he was a student of Boerhaave; and attended his lectures on chemistry, the theory and practice of

medicine, and clinical lectures in the hospital. He also attended Boerhaave's prelections on botany. At this time, Professor Rau was in such a state that he could not teach anatomy.* Mr Monro at that time dissected several animals, and explained the differences between that of man to some of the students at Leyden. So soon as he returned home, in autumn 1729, he was examined by the surgeons of Edinburgh, and admitted a member of their incorporation." †

Though Mr Monro had received his commission in January 1720, he was not required to deliver any lectures till the subsequent October. The task he had undertaken was of no ordinary difficulty; and, well prepared as he doubtless was, he possessed too much prudence and good sense to run any hazard, being well aware how much depended upon the first impression which he might make. Independently of this, he could procure *subjects* nowhere else than in London; and he had sufficient occupation to engage him previous to the commencement of the

* This great anatomist, in consequence of a fall, was, at the time when Mr Monro was at Leyden, confined to bed, and died a few months afterwards. He performed the operation of cutting for the stone upon above sixteen hundred people, with the greatest applause, and equal success; and suggested improvements in the mode of performing that dangerous operation, which were adopted by Mr Cheselden. —Hist. of the Lateral Operation, by James Douglas, M. D. Mr Monro must have been much disappointed at not witnessing him perform the operation.

† Manuscript Life.

session of the college, in getting ready such anatomical preparations, as the business of the class absolutely required. Some time was also necessary to publish throughout the country the newly proposed plan of giving regular lectures on anatomy; and to solicit the patronage of professional gentlemen, and others, who were interested, or might be disposed to promote its success.

For this purpose, both he and his friends took care to secure the *public* patronage of the Royal College of Physicians and the College of Surgeons of the city of Edinburgh, though perfectly certain of their hearty co-operation as individuals. Upon 24th August 1720, it is recorded, "That the council, with the extraordinary deacons, having heard a representation from the Royal College of Physicians, as also another from the Incorporation of Chirurgeon Apothecaries of this city, both setting forth the necessity and usefulness of encouraging a school of anatomy and chirurgery in this city, and the probability of bringing it to as great perfection as in any other place, whereby the children of freemen and apprentices may improve in anatomy at a much easier charge than they usually are put to, and likewise may prove a mean of bringing others to this city from other parts for their improvement; and being willing to give all due encouragement for propagating such arts and sciences as may tend to the honour and advantage of this city, do authorize and give power to the present magistrates to give

such encouragement to Mr Alexander Monro, present professor thereof, as they shall think convenient; and which encouragement, when granted by the said magistrates, is and shall stand in the same force and effect in all time coming, as if the council had granted the same themselves."*

Meanwhile, the most indefatigable exertions were made to procure as respectable an attendance upon his prelections as possible. The Lord Provost, accompanied by his friends in the magistracy, the Presidents and Fellows of the College of Physicians, and the President, accompanied by the members of the College of Surgeons, honoured him with their presence upon the first day's lecture. Not expecting so numerous nor so learned an audience, it is not surprising that he was thrown into confusion, being a man of genuine modesty. The appearance, too, he was called upon to make, was quite new to him, having never been accustomed to the visage of an assembly. He had committed the lecture to memory; but the presence of the audience deprived him of the power of recollection; and as he had determined not to read his discourse, following the example which then prevailed in the foreign universities,† he resolved to trust to his powers of extemporaneous elocution, being fully persuaded that he was master of the sub-

* Counc. Regist. vol. xlviii. p. 304.

† The Church of Rome have never allowed their clergy to read their discourses from the pulpit.

ject. He acquitted himself so much to his own satisfaction, and that of his hearers, that he formed the resolution of adopting a similar method in all time coming. This he carried into effect during the whole of the long term during which he discharged the duties of a public professor.

But the most unequivocal proof of his early reputation at this time, and of the zeal with which he was seconded by the public, is the number that attended his lectures. They amounted to the extraordinary number of fifty-seven students.* It must

* The following is an accurate account of the number of his pupils from 1720 to 1751 inclusive, communicated to the author through the kindness of his grandson, the present professor.

Years.	Pupils.	Years.	Pupils.
1720,	57	1736,	131
1,	68	7,	123
2,	62	8,	119
3,	68	9,	137
4,	58	1740,	130
5,	51	1,	136
6,	65	2,	131
7,	81	3,	164
8,	70	4,	150
9,	90	5,	76
1730,	83	6,	182
1,	82	7,	165
2,	107	8,	160
3,	104	9,	182
4,	111	1750,	158
5,	95	1,	144
		Total number,	3540

And averaging a little more than 110 each year.

certainly be considered in that light, when the novelty of the attempt, the population, and the poverty of Scotland at that time, are taken into the account.

It has been confidently affirmed that Dr Charles Alston, of whom some account shall be given in the subsequent part of this history, was associated with Mr Monro; and that, "in the beginning of the winter 1720, these two young professors began to give regular courses of lectures, the one on the *materia medica* and botany, the other on anatomy and surgery;" and that "Alston was at this time king's botanist for Scotland."* The latter I admit to be

* Dr D. Monro's Life of his Father, p. 11.—Dr Hope's Account of Alston, prefixed to Alston's Mat. Med.—Dr Duncan's Harveian Oration, p. 16.

I have taken great pains to examine into the truth of this statement. 1. After a very careful examination of the council register, I have not been able to find the least hint of a commission of any kind being given to Dr Alston till 31st March 1738. 2. In 1738, he received his commission to be professor of materia medica and botany in the usual form from the Town-Council. 3. Dr Alston could not be intimate with Mr Monro at Leyden in 1716, for the latter did not go thither till autumn 1718. And, lastly, Mr George Preston, of whom some account has been already given, was superintendant of the physic-garden in 1716, and died 16th February 1749, aged 84, having probably resigned in 1738. The names *Preston* and *Alston* might be confounded by a foreigner, who only received the information by report. Dr Alston died in 1760; and, shortly after, a brief account of him appeared in the Leipsic Commentaries, vol. xi. p. 556, which I suspect might mislead Dr Hope, who quotes them as his authority, in the preface he prefixed to Alston's Materia Medica, which was a posthumous publication.

true; but, for the reasons assigned below, I am inclined to think that the former is a mistake; though, as the evidence is only negative, I am unwilling to affirm any thing with certainty.

Towards the end of his third course, Mr Monro, encouraged by the success that had attended his exertions, and with the concurrence and urgent recommendations of his friends, who, indeed, in this instance, were only an echo of the opinion of the public, presented a petition to the honourable patrons, in which he set forth the usefulness of the study of anatomy, and the advantages it might be of to Edinburgh; and, in order thereto, the necessity of putting the commission of professor on such a footing as might encourage him effectually to follow out the design for which he was appointed. The council gave the following deliverance upon his petition.

"*Edinburgh, 14th March* 1722.

"The which petition being heard and considered in council, and they being well and ripely advised, and satisfied how much this profession may tend to the advantage and honour of the city, by the small expence of the inhabitants children their education, and the resort of students who have been and will be induced to come here from all the several parts of Scotland, as also from England and Ireland, as there is all imaginable reason, from the favourable report these already come make, that their numbers

will still increase; and being fully convinced of the fitness and sufficiency of the said Mr Alexander Monro in all respects for the said profession, and well acquainted with his diligence and assiduous application in the exercise of it; They therefore, and for his better encouragement, of new again nominate, &c. him sole professor of anatomy within this city and college of Edinburgh, and that *ad vitam aut culpam*, notwithstanding of any act of council formerly made to the contrary."* The patrons had judged it proper, as has been mentioned, that the professorships should be held during their pleasure; and, so late as August 1719, they had passed a general act relative to that subject, in which they explained and enforced their sentiments in regard to it. But so powerful was Mr Monro's influence, in consequence of his unforeseen popularity as a professor, and his other eminent qualities, that they most readily acceded to his reasonable request. Thus he was the means of laying down a precedent, which was in direct violation of the repeated acts of the council, but which has been strictly adhered to ever since.

Mr Monro never desisted from exerting himself, in the line of his profession, with that ability, diligence, and steadiness, which secured to him the approbation of all. In some respects, however, he had a difficult part to perform. The population of

* Counc. Regist. vol. xlix. p. 202.

the town then amounted only to thirty thousand; and he had inspired his pupils with such a taste for anatomy, and the opportunities they possessed were so limited, that they were very uneasy under the restraint. In April 1725, however, some of the more enterprizing of the students, as was supposed, had attempted to violate the graves of the dead. Mr Monro's well known character placed him above suspicion in the eyes of sober minded men. But the vulgar of all denominations were of a very different opinion. The city was in an uproar; and an Edinburgh mob was in those days very formidable. They beset Surgeons' Hall, where Mr Monro had from the first delivered his lectures; and had it not been for the spirited and vigorous measures of the magistrates, they would have destroyed and trampled under their feet the anatomical preparations which he had accumulated with so much labour and expence. The tumult was fortunately quelled; but the magistrates found it necessary or convenient, in order to pacify the multitude, to offer "a reward of L.20 sterling to those who would discover the persons that were accessary to stealing dead bodies."* The session of the college rose in the course of a few weeks; no discovery was made; and the circumstance which occasioned the riot was speedily forgotten.

This unpleasant business, however, excited a dread

* Counc. Regist. vol. l. p. 478.

in the minds both of Mr Monro and the patrons of the university of the recurrence of any similar event. In order, therefore, to guard against the hazard of the fatal consequences that might ensue, it was agreed that he should be provided with a theatre within the walls of the university, in which his collection of preparations, that had now become pretty numerous, might be deposited in a place of greater security. For this purpose, the form of transacting business with the council required that he should present a petition to that effect. This he accordingly did upon the 25th October of the same year; and his request was granted. "The council, upon a petition from Mr Alexander Monro, craving the council, as patrons of the university of Edinburgh, to allow him, as professor of anatomy therein, a theatre for public dissections for teaching the students under his inspection, such as shall be thought proper for that science, the council, &c. appropriate a fit place in the said university to be adapted to the said theatre for public dissections, and teaching the students under his inspection."*

Mr Monro had a most powerful auxiliary in the conducting of all his transactions with the Town-Council. This was the celebrated George Drummond, by far the most eminent citizen and public-spirited magistrate that Edinburgh ever produced,

* Counc. Regist. vol. li. p. 8.

and the greatest benefactor to his native city and to the university in particular.* It was through his influence that his near relation (a brother, if I mistake not) demitted in favour of Mr Monro; and one of the first acts of the council, when he was advanced to be Lord Provost of Edinburgh, was to procure proper accommodation for him within the university. They lived upon a footing of the most intimate friendship, and died within a few months of one another.

* That he was the greatest benefactor which the university ever had, will not be called in question by those who are acquainted with his history. From the year 1715, to the time of his death in 1766, nothing was done in regard to the college without his advice or direction. His care of the university not only extended to an accurate investigation how its funds were expended, but he was of much more essential service in procuring men of real talents to be appointed as professors. In the course of the fifty years during which he managed the city, he may be said to have appointed all the professors. The following gentlemen, however, were introduced to the university whilst he was provost, and he served that honourable office six times. In this catalogue, the names of the greatest ornaments of the university are included. They are inserted here in the order of the time they were inducted. Adam Watt, humanity; Colin M'Laurin, mathematics; Joseph Gibson, midwifery; Robert Whytt, theory and practice of medicine; Mathew Stewart, mathematics; James Robertson, Hebrew; John Goldie, principal; Robert Hamilton, divinity; James Balfour, moral philosophy, afterwards the law of nature and nations; Robert Dick, civil law; William Cullen, chemistry, theory and practice of medicine; Thomas Young, midwifery; Alexander Monro, secundus; Adam Ferguson, natural and afterwards moral philosophy; William Robertson, principal; Robert Cumming, church history; Hugh Blair, rhetoric.

Whatever advantage the public may have derived from that most benevolent and excellent institution *the Royal Infirmary*, is solely to be ascribed to the great exertions of these two eminent men. The magistrates of Edinburgh had been in the habit, from time immemorial of granting petty pensions to their poor, and appointing a physician and surgeon to attend them when necessary. But those who were entitled to derive benefit from this fund were only such as were what is called *free of the city*. It is evident, therefore, that many objects of compassion were of necessity excluded from participating of this charity. In 1721, some benevolent individuals, who pitied the sufferings of the poor, circulated a proposal for establishing an hospital upon a much more extensive scale; but it did not at that time receive the encouragement which they expected.* The physicians and surgeons had, for a long period, given advice and medicines gratuitously to the sick poor; but it was in 1725, when under the auspices of the Lord Provost, who had the chief management of the Fishery Company, they obtained assignations to shares of their stock, upon its dissolution, that it was carried into effect.

A small house was at first rented; and Mr Monro and others having voluntarily offered their services, it was opened in 1729. The plan succeeding to their most ample wishes, and the funds increasing very

* It was written by Dr Monro.

rapidly, the managers of the charity procured a charter in 1736; and, in August 1738, laid the foundation of the present extensive fabric. Messrs Drummond and Monro were appointed the *building committee.* The money contributed, and with which the work was begun, was soon expended; but perhaps the alacrity and hearty co-operation with which this laudable enterprize was carried on, is without a parallel in the history of any charitable foundation. Materials for the building, of every description, were contributed in small quantities by those who had it not in their power to advance money; and even the common workmen rivalled each other in frequently giving their labour *gratis;* and, instead of repining, cheerfully submitted to the inconvenience they suffered from their wages being sometimes not regularly paid. Such confidence had they, in common with all ranks, in the talents, integrity, and generosity of these two gentlemen. They uniformly paid the workmen themselves; and permitted no avocation whatever to interfere with what they esteemed so imperious a duty; and their presence, combined with their engaging manners to all employed about the work, had the effect of accelerating its progress in a most remarkable manner.

The erection of an infirmary for the relief of the distressed of all nations, was accompanied with many good effects, independent of the relief which it conferred upon the miserable. Such an institution was indispensably necessary, before those who were

to be the guardians of the health of society could possibly receive an education which would qualify them for discharging the duties of so important a function. Lectures upon the theory of disease, and the mode of cure, how beneficial soever they are acknowledged to be, cannot supply the place of actually witnessing diseases themselves, their differences, causes, and effects. A very plausible and ingenious system of pathology may be invented; but though it may amuse, it can be of little advantage to the student, and very frequently rather has a tendency to lead to the adoption of an inefficient or dangerous practice. When both are combined, the one assists to correct the other; and the diligent student will eagerly seize upon the opportunity of profiting by them. These advantages are to be obtained in Edinburgh in the most ample manner; so that the benefit of attending the hospital, together with the instructions to be derived from the prelections of the different professors upon every branch of medical science, render the system of education as perfect as the nature of the study will admit.

In 1726, Mr Monro published his first and greatest work, on the anatomy of the bones. This treatise has received the warmest commendation, both at home and abroad, from the greatest masters in anatomy, from the time of its first publication.*

* Haller's character of it is, Egregius labor, ad capitis historiam, ad articulationes, ad varietates, ad vasa et membranas ossium recentium, non adeo ad artus.—Haller. Meth. Stud. Med. p. 281.

In the dedication of it to his students, he modestly informs us, that if he had known that Albinus, Winslow, and Palfyn, were to publish descriptions of the bones, his work would probably not have appeared. Those authors however, have confined themselves entirely to a description of the bones, and have intermixed very little reasoning concerning the uses which those parts serve. Mr Monro's *Osteology*, therefore, besides being as minute, and frequently more so, in the description, contains a much greater fund of practical observations; and, besides being more generally useful, it is more enticing to the young student, who is apt to be disgusted with a study which does not give exercise to his imagination. In 1759, M. J. Joseph Sue, professor of anatomy to the Royal Schools of Surgery, and to the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture, all at Paris, published a splendid edition of this work in folio, with elegant engravings. In short, it has always been considered as a most masterly performance upon this fundamental branch of anatomy. To the latter editions he annexed an excellent treatise on the human nerves, which had been originally printed in Cheselden's Anatomy, but which he afterwards much enlarged.

To give a particular account of all the works of Mr Monro (which, in the edition published by his son in 1781, amount to nearly eight hundred pages in quarto), would lead to a digression, incompatible with the design of the present history. The most

satisfactory reference will be, in the estimation of all competent judges, the perusal of the works themselves. It would be unpardonable, however, to pass unnoticed the active part which he took in the publication of the "Medical Essays and Observations." He and Dr Plummer, professor of medicine in the university of Edinburgh, were secretaries to a society, which was principally composed of medical practitioners in Scotland, though they invited all who cultivated surgery and physic to send their contributions, to which they promised every attention should be shewn. The prospectus of the work, &c. were written by Mr Monro; and he had the sole charge of reviewing, correcting, and arranging the papers that were transmitted to him. Besides this trouble, of which none have any idea who have not been engaged in the task, he contributed fully one-fourth of the work in original articles, which constitute a most important part of the publication. It was most favourably received by the public; and its reputation stands as high at this day, especially upon the continent, as the transactions of any medical society which have been published before or since.

But talents for philosophical speculation, and great address in the performance of any surgical operation, united with the most profound and comprehensive knowledge of his profession, were not the only qualities possessed by this extraordinary man. His moral worth formed the subject of the encomium of all who had the honour of his acquaintance. His

unaffected modesty, and the liberal manner in which he treated those whom others viewed with a suspecting eye, manifested the superiority of his intellectual character.* His courtesy and engaging manners strongly attached his students to him. When they needed advice, he was always ready to communicate it in the most affectionate manner; and his solicitude to serve them in future life was exemplified in innumerable instances.

Mr Monro had continued a member of the incorporation of surgeons till 1756, when, upon the 1st of January of that year, the university of Edinburgh conferred upon him the degree of doctor of medicine. He was admitted a licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians upon 3d February following, on the same day with his intimate friend and colleague Dr Cullen; and they were elected fellows of the same upon 5th March thereafter.

His youngest son, Alexander, being appointed joint professor of anatomy in 1757, he resigned to him the labour of publicly teaching anatomy, though

* This was most remarkably displayed in his behaviour to Dr George Martin, physician at St Andrews, who began to read medical lectures in Edinburgh. Some disapproved of this, which was the first attempt of the kind in Edinburgh, as tending to injure the university. Dr Monro was of a very different opinion. He thought the private labours of such a man as Dr Martin would rather have a tendency to increase the fame of the university. And, when this young philosopher was cut off by death, he superintended the publication of his posthumous works.

he still continued to give clinical lectures in the hospital; and had the agreeable pleasure of seeing this son pursue the track which he himself had pointed out. He died upon 10th July 1767.

CHAPTER XII.

The Foundation of a Professorship of Scotish law—Dr Porterfield—The Medical School originally consisting of Four Professors.

It has been already mentioned, that lectures upon the civil and Scotish law were given by Mr Cuningham about the beginning of the century. He delivered these privately; and never had any connexion with the university. The manner in which young lawyers, and practitioners of the law in general, received their education in Scotland at that time was far from being regular. A knowledge of the law of Scotland was acquired chiefly by private study. The municipal law had been but little cultivated. Lord Stair was the first who seems to have attempted institutions of it upon a systematic plan. The books of *Regiam Majestatem*, together with the *Leges Burgorum*, and other treatises subjoined by Sir John Skene, the publisher of them, are composed something in the way of a system, but hardly deserve the name. The learned Sir Thomas Craig has treated with great ability of the Feudal System; and

his work is much esteemed at home, and celebrated abroad. But it treats of feudal subjects only, and such as are incident to them, having never proposed to give a complete system of law. Lord Stair's plan was very comprehensive; for he intended it as an entire system of the law of Scotland in regard to civil rights.

Sir George Mackenzie, another celebrated lawyer, notwithstanding the multiplicity of his public engagements, bestowed great pains in arranging and digesting a system of Scotish law, both civil and criminal. He proposed Justinian as his model; and his treatises on both brances have been esteemed valuable performances, containing an admirable abridgment of the principles of the law of Scotland.

The writings of these authors were the only aids which the student possessed by way of introduction to a knowledge of the laws of his country. He had free access to consult the *statutory law*, which consists of the statutes or acts of parliament. The reports or decisions of the Court of Session, the supreme civil court, are also considered as law, because the judges, like all other courts of justice, very much respect their own decisions; and, though they possess the power, they are not in the practice of receding from them, excepting for weighty reasons. No one can practise in any court of law, without being well acquainted with the forms which are in general use. A knowledge of these, without which none can make a distinguished figure as a lawyer,

was then, as it still is, obtained by daily practice in the supreme court. The student also attached himself to some one of the ablest and best employed advocates, attended his consultations, and was employed by him in arranging and analysing processes, not then done by the agents or attornies.* This was the case with such as directed their attention to the bar. But a great proportion of the legal practice of Scotland is not within their province. It therefore becomes an object of very great importance, that those of that profession should have every opportunity of being well instructed in the law. In order to accomplish this desirable end, Mr Alexander Bayne, advocate, presented a petition to the patrons, and proposed the institution of a professorship of Scotish law. The Town-Council paid the most respectful attention to it.

"*Edinburgh, 28th November* 1722.

"Mr Alexander Bayne having represented how much it would be for the interest of the nation, and of this city, to have a professor of the law of Scotland placed in the university of this city, not only for teaching the Scots law, but also for qualifying of writers for his majesty's signet; and being fully apprised of the fitness and qualifications of Mr Alexander Bayne of Rires, advocate, to discharge such a province, therefore, the council elect him to be professor of the law of Scotland in the university of

* Life of Lord Kames, vol. i. p. 13.

this city, for teaching the Scots law, and qualifying writers to his majesty's signet."*

It has been already observed, that the faculty of advocates have never prescribed any definite course of study to those who are candidates for admission to their society. This is probably the reason that no notice is taken of the benefit that would accrue to such as fixed upon the profession of an advocate. The professorship was founded with a special reference to the accommodation of that numerous and respectable body the writers to his majesty's signet; and, before any one can be admitted as one of their members, it is necessary to produce a certificate of having attended at least one course of lectures at this class. It seems very extraordinary that the erection of a class, in which the principles of the law of Scotland should be taught, should have been delayed so long, and have given place to others which could not be considered as so essentially necessary, or so beneficial to society at large. Edinburgh was then, and still is, chiefly supported by its being the seat of the courts of justice; and, intimate as the connexion is between the civil and the Scotish law, it appears strange that, when the former was founded by royal munificence, no attempts were made to obtain a similar establishment in which the latter might be taught. The true reason I believe to have been, that, with the ex-

* Counc. Regist. vol. xlix. p. 424.

ception of the professorships in which the languages were taught, and which were introductory to the study of theology, the other establishments in the university were either created for the express purpose of serving those upon whom they were first conferred, or arose out of the political circumstances of the times. The chief cause of the Roman law being so much studied by Scotish lawyers is, that it forms the best introduction to a thorough knowledge of their own municipal law. It has great influence in Scotland, except where express laws or customs have receded from

Mr Bayne was the representative of an ancient family in Fifeshire; and his descendents still possess the estate of Rires, in the parish of Kilconquhar. I have been able to obtain very little information concerning him. Whether he died in 1737, or only resigned his professorship, I know not; but, in the course of that year, he was succeeded in the chair by Mr John Erskine. Mr Bayne was the author of two works on the law of Scotland. The first appeared in 1748, and was entitled "Institutions of the Criminal Law of Scotland," for the use of students who attend the lectures of Mr Alexander Bayne; and the second consisted of notes for the use of the students of the municipal law in the university of Edinburgh, being a supplement to Sir George Mackenzie's Institutions. This was published in the subsequent year; and he is styled professor of muni-

cipal law. I have not obtained any explanation of the apparent anachronism. The two treatises are very small; and we are informed, in the prefaces, that he had been in the practice of dictating what they contained to his students, and making them the text upon which he commented at greater length in his lectures.

We have given an account of the foundation of the medical school in the university of Edinburgh, under the auspices of Mr Monro. The great success which attended his endeavours to teach anatomy, stimulated those who felt an interest in promoting medical science to extend the plan, and, if possible, to put it upon such a scale, as should not only render it respectable in the eyes of the public, but be of essential service to students of medicine. An uncommon spirit of emulation prevailed at this time, both on the continent and in this country, in cultivating almost every department of physical science. The Scotish youth, in imitation indeed of the rest of Europe, who had made choice of physic as a profession, had caught the same ardour in zealously prosecuting the study of the science, and rivalled each other in their attempts to distinguish themselves. They were about the same age, had been educated abroad in the same system, and were all equally admirers of its author, Boerhaave.

The following minute explains what measures the Town-Council adopted at this time.

"*Edinburgh, 12th August* 1724.

"The council, considering that they are vested and endowed with a power, both of instituting professions of all liberal arts and sciences in their college, and of nominating and appointing persons thereto, qualified to profess and teach the same; and considering the great benefit and advantage that would accrue to this city and kingdom, by having all the parts of medicine taught in this place; likewise considering, that hitherto the institutes and practice of medicine, though the principal parts thereof, have not been professed or taught in the said college; and that it appears necessary, for the effectual teaching of the same, that a person, as well disengaged from the necessary business of all other public professions, as otherwise well qualified, be nominated and appointed for that effect: And whereas Mr William Porterfield, doctor of medicine in Edinburgh, is recommended by the president, censors, and other members of the Royal College of Physicians in Edinburgh, as a person well fitted and qualified for teaching medicine in all its parts, and deserving of all encouragement; and being otherwise well informed, and fully convinced of the ability, good disposition, and qualifications of the said Dr William Porterfield for such an undertaking,—Therefore, they hereby institute and establish the foresaid profession of the institutes and practice of medicine in their said college, and do elect, &c. granting to him full power and authority to profess, teach, and instruct

the said science of medicine, in all its parts and branches, in the said college of Edinburgh, and, for that end, to have, hold, and enjoy, in the said college, such powers, privileges, and immunities, as any other professor or teacher therein enjoys. Provided, nevertheless, that the said Dr William Porterfield, by his acceptation hereof, becomes expressly bound and obliged punctually to observe and obey all constitutions, bye-laws, rules, and regulations, made, or to be made, by the Lord Provost, Magistrates, Council, and their successors in office, both concerning the government and administration of the said college, and every matter and thing thereto relating: And, the said Dr William Porterfield, by his acceptation, also binds and obliges him to give colleges regularly, in order to the instructing of students in the said science of medicine."*

From some neglect or mistake of those who had the charge of the records of the Town-Council about this time, it is almost impossible to give a clear statement of the various transactions which took place, before matters were adjusted in such a manner as to afford tolerable instruction to medical students, or before the university could be entitled to the name of a

* Counc. Regist. vol. h p. 314.—Dr Porterfield graduated at Rheims upon the 24th August 1717. He was admitted a licentiate of the royal college of physicians of Edinburgh upon the 13th April 1721, and elected fellow upon the 14th November of the same year.

medical school. The anxiety of the patrons was much to be commended, in adopting measures to have all the branches of physic taught in Edinburgh; and they had recourse to the best sources of information which the country afforded. The royal college of physicians, who had been so active in lending their assistance towards completely securing Mr Monro in his professorship, were equally disposed to favour this undertaking; and the patrons having cast their eyes upon Dr William Porterfield, one of the members of the college, they bore testimony to his abilities, and furnished him with the most ample recommendations. There was great scope for the exercise of his talents in the province which was assigned to him; and the privileges conferred upon him, as a member of the university, were such as naturally would incite him to the greatest diligence. The council, however, had the caution to insert in his commission that he "should give colleges regularly." Whether this clause was the effect of mere accident, or of design, is not known; but it is certain that no such condition had been made with any former professor, probably because it was esteemed to be altogether unnecessary.

Dr Porterfied was a native of the shire of Ayr, descended of a reputable family, and was a man of considerable private fortune. To this I presume the words of the commission allude, when he is described as being "disengaged from the necessary business of all other public professions." It is probable

that he was educated at the university of Glasgow, where the mathematics especially were much cultivated. He very early made proficiency in this fascinating study; and has employed it in all the works of which he has acknowledged himself to be the author. His first attempt was in the "Medical Observations," published in 1719, and was a demonstration of the strength of bones to resist powers applied to break them transversely. This was given to the public through the intercession of Mr Monro, who had delivered a similar theory in his Osteology. It is sufficient to observe here, that Monro considered it as an excellent supplement to that part of his work.

Dr Porterfield is however principally known by his Treatise on the Eye, which was first published in 1759. He had given an outline of this work many years before in the "Medical Essays;" but he appears to have bestowed great labour in amplifying and confirming the theories he had formed concerning vision. It had the immediate effect of raising his reputation very high as a metaphysician, an anatomist, a mathematician, and physiologist. Like the greater number of his contemporaries, he seems to have been much attached to theory, and to have introduced into his speculations metaphysical discussions, which are now admitted to be more ingenious than solid. Stahl's theory, that all *motion* originated with the soul, and in no instance whatever from the body, had been acknowledged as a fundamental

principle in some of the most celebrated schools, and, at the time when Porterfield wrote, had many admirers both in England and France. Porterfield's work possesses great merit, and is still considered as a standard book upon the subject; and he who reads it with attention, will derive both pleasure and profit from the perusal. He was a man of very keen passions; and seems to have felt no restraint in expressing his sentiments respecting the opinions of others. He does not treat of the diseases of the eye; from which it may be justly inferred, that his genius led him to be more pleased with the theoretical than practical part of his subject.

It is a singular circumstance, that no documents are known to exist, by which it can be proved whether Dr Porterfield ever delivered a course of lectures or not in the university of Edinburgh. For my own part, I am inclined to think that he never did. The lectures would necessarily require a considerable time in composing; and it is well known, in this part of the country, that he was a man of a peculiar temper. I do not blame him for unsteadiness, or for shrinking from the task which he had proposed to perform. There was no member of the college of physicians better qualified than he was. I rather conjecture that some of his colleagues had the intention of beginning courses of medical lectures about this very time, and that he voluntarily declined interfering with their plan. But, before I make any further observations, I have inserted two

minutes of the Town-council connected with this subject.

"*Edinburgh, 11th November* 1724.

"The same day, anent a memorial given in by Messrs Rutherford, St Clare, Plummer, and Innes, shewing that these gentlemen, having purchased a house for a chemical elaboratory, adjoining to the college garden, formerly let to Mr George Preston; and finding that the garden, neglected by Mr Preston, had for some years lain in disorder, desired of the Honourable the Town-council that they might be allowed the use of that ground, for the better carrying on their design of furnishing the apothecary shops with chemical medicines, and instructing the students of medicine in that part of the science; they hoped the council would the more readily comply with their request, in regard that that ground, formerly allotted for the use of medicine, would still be employed in nursing and propagating such plants as were necessary for the improvement of chemistry in this place. And, further, the earth on the south wall of the elaboratory rising somewhat above the first floor, the workmen judged it necessary, for the preservation of the timber, that it be removed from the wall some feet downwards, which might be done without any inconvenience or deformity to the garden. These gentlemen, therefore, begged, that since the confusion the garden is now in, would cost a considerable sum to rectify, that the council would

be pleased to let them have it on the same terms Mr Preston had it before; or, if that should be thought too great a favour, they were willing to be at the charge of dressing, keeping, and leaving it in order, for any gratuity the council should be pleased to allow, provided they might have grant of the ground for ten years, so as not to be in the hazard of losing the charges, before the ground could make any suitable return, as the said memorial bears. Which being read, the council remitted the consideration thereof to Bailie Alexander Simpson and the committee anent the college affairs. Accordingly, he reported, that they recommended the above."*

"*Edinburgh, 9th February* 1726.

"The which day, the Lord Provost, Bailies, Council, Deacons of Crafts, ordinary and extraordinary, being convened in council, anent the petition given in by John Rutherford, Andrew Sinclair, Andrew Plummer, and John Innes, Fellows of the Royal College of Physicians at Edinburgh, shewing that the petitioners had, under the council's protection, undertaken the professing and teaching of medicine in this city, and, by the encouragement which the council had been pleased to grant them, had carried it on with some success: That, was medicine professed and taught in the college by the petitioners, it would tend more to promote it, than to

* Counc. Regist. vol. 1. p. 874.

have it taught and professed in the manner hitherto undertaken: That the sole power of instituting such professions in the college, and of electing of persons qualified to profess the same, was vested in the council: That the promoting the aforesaid profession was only what was intended by the petitioners, which would tend to the benefit and honour of this city and country. Craving, therefore, the council to institute the profession in the college of Edinburgh, and appoint the petitioners to teach and profess the same, as the petition bears. Which being maturely considered, and the council being fully convinced that nothing can contribute more to the flourishing of this or any other college, than that all the parts of academical learning be professed and taught in them by able professors, were of opinion, that it would be of great advantage to this college, city, and country, that medicine in all its branches be taught and professed here, by such a number of professors of that science as may by themselves promote students to their degrees, with as great solemnity as is done in any other college or university at home or abroad. The council further considering, that the petitioners above mentioned have given the clearest proof of their capacity and ability to teach the above valuable ends and purposes, they having already professed and taught medicine with good success and advantage, and with the approbation of all the learned in that science here, do therefore unanimously constitute, nominate, and appoint An-

drew Sinclair and John Rutherford, doctors of medicine, professors of the theory and practice of medicine, and Andrew Plummer and John Innes, doctors of medicine, professors of medicine and chemistry in the college of Edinburgh; with full power to all of them to profess and teach medicine in all its branches in the said college, as fully and freely as the said science is taught in any university or college in this or any other country. And do, by these presents, give, grant, and bestow upon the said four professors of medicine, and of the particular branches thereof above mentioned, all the privileges, liberties, and immunities, that at present or hereafter are or may be enjoyed by the professors of any other science in the foresaid college. And, particularly, with full power to them to examine candidates, and to do every other thing requisite and necessary to the graduation of doctors of medicine, as amply and fully, and with all the solemnities, that the same is practised and done by the professors of medicine in any college or university whatsoever. And it is hereby further provided and declared, that two only of the said professors of medicine shall at one time have the priviledge of voting with the other professors in college affairs. And that these two enjoy the privilege of deliberating on and voting in the affairs of general concern to the college, whereanent the professors have been in use to deliberate and vote, in manner after directed, *viz.* the said Andrew Sinclair, professor of the theory and practice of

medicine, and the said Andrew Plummer, professor of medicine and chemistry, are hereby appointed and priviledged to deliberate and vote with the other professors in their college affairs, from the day of their admission till the first day of March 1727: And that the said John Rutherford and John Innes, professors of the said branches of medicine, from the said first day of March 1727 years, enjoy the same privilege for the succeeding year: And so the said professors are to have the said privilege by turns yearly, during their respective lives, and their continuing to profess and teach medicine in the said college; and that this act shall take place *ad vitam aut culpam:* And it is hereby to be understood, that if their numbers be diminished by death, or otherwise, that the survivors continuing to profess and teach medicine shall enjoy the foresaid priviledges: And, *lastly*, it is hereby expressly provided and declared, that the said four professors, or any of them, shall not have any fee or salary for their professing and teaching medicine, as said is, by virtue of this present act, or in time coming, which shall be payable out of the revenue or patrimony which does or may at any time hereafter belong to this city, whereanent these presents shall be a warrant." *

It has been already stated, that, after a most laborious investigation, it has been found impossible to

* Counc. Regist.

give an exact account how matters were arranged between Dr Porterfield and these four gentlemen. The former received his commission in August; and they made their application on the subsequent 11th of November, which, in Edinburgh, is what is called the *term-day*; from which it would appear that they were desirous to get immediate possession of the house. They seem to have studiously avoided making the least allusion to the appointment which had already taken place in regard to teaching the institutes and practice of medicine. They restricted themselves to the performing of chemical processes; and they held out, as an inducement to the Town-Council to comply with their proposal, that they could thus furnish the apothecaries shops with chemical medicines, and instruct the students of medicine in that part of the science. From the circumstance of their proposing to rear medical plants, it must appear obvious, though it be not expressly declared, that their object was to deliver to such students as might be attending the university a course of lectures both on chemistry and *materia medica*, and as much of botany as should comprehend the officinal plants. And these, no doubt, when added to the classes already founded, would have formed a sufficiently extensive establishment for a medical education.

There can be no doubt, however, that the matter was somehow compromised; and that the associated physicians had delivered lectures for one session at least, and this with the concurrence of, and under the

protection of the council, before the month of February 1726. They appear to have taught at their own lodgings, or in some public hall, if the words of their representation to the patrons do not imply that they wished the sanction under which they acted to be more distinctly defined; or, in other words, to be fully received as members of the university. Besides teaching the different branches of medical science, the respectability of the university very much depended upon such a number of professors being actually engaged in the business, as was necessary to constitute a faculty of medicine; and thus have it in their power to confer degrees, by themselves, upon such students as made application, had regularly attended the different classes, and, upon examination, were found duly qualified to practise physic. The universal practice is, for the person who applies for a degree in any faculty to be examined by the members of that particular faculty. They form as it were a committee of the whole university, whose report, when favourable, receives the sanction of all the members of the *Senatus Academicus*, who subscribe the diploma before it is presented to the candidate.

The university of Edinburgh exercised their right of conferring medical degrees, when no medical faculty existed, or, rather, when no lectures upon medicine were given in the college. This anomaly is by no means uncommon. By far the greater number of European universities are in the same situation at

this moment. Many gentlemen, who afterwards made a distinguished figure in the world as physicians, procured a degree from Edinburgh under these circumstances; and the plan which was adopted was the following. The applicant was examined by two members of the Royal College of Physicians, whose certificate, when presented to the university, was sustained, and the degree conferred. Though there is no reason for suspecting that the physicians to whom the examinations were delegated performed this duty carelessly, yet it was more honourable to the university, and consequently to the candidates, that the whole business should be conducted by such members of the university as directed the course of their studies, and by whom they had been educated. The patrons, who possessed the power, very properly regulated this matter; but, in order to afford an additional sanction to this mode of procedure in conducting the business of the university, the *Senatus Academicus*, at a meeting, called upon the subsequent October, for the express purpose of considering that particular subject, recognized the five medical professors as a medical faculty, and formally entered them as such in their minutes.*

The patrons bore honourable testimony to the abilities of the professors, and to the public approbation which they had received from the most competent judges. They could not, therefore, entertain

* College Records.

any jealousy that there was a possibility of their making an indiscreet use of the privileges with which they had invested them. The reason, therefore, of allowing them only two votes in the management of the general business of the university, seems to have been, that as they viewed it in no other light than as an experiment, when they appointed four gentlemen as professors, and as they considered complete success to be yet uncertain, and it might hereafter be found expedient to reduce them to two, it was better to make this a preliminary condition, in order to prevent any disputes that might arise. They evidently left it to the two professors themselves, who were first mentioned in the commission, to arrange the provinces they would prefer as they judged proper. The same liberty was granted to the other two. To Dr St Clair was allotted the theory, and to Dr Rutherford the practice. How Dr Plummer and Dr Innes divided their labour I have not been able to learn.

Very little is now known of the private history of these gentlemen; and none of them, as far as I know, published any considerable work upon medical science excepting Dr Plummer. "When I first applied to the study of physic," says Dr Cullen, "I learned only the system of Boerhaave; and, even when I came to take a professor's chair in this university, I found that system here in its entire and full force.* It was

* *Vid.* Preface to his First Lines of the Practice of Physic.

under them that Cullen studied. Dr St Clair taught the theory or institutions of physic, by explaining the *Institutiones Medicæ* of Boerhaave; and Dr Rutherford used as a text-book the "*Aphorismi de Cognoscendis et Curandis Morbis* of the same author." Dr Rutherford was the first professor who delivered clinical lectures in the Infirmary. He commenced his labours in the winter session of 1746-1747, and was attended by a great many students.* The want of funds, but principally the unsettled state of the country, and the rebellion which ensued, had hitherto prevented the managers of that benevolent and useful charity from adding this as an appendage to the medical instructions delivered by the professors in the university. After the battle of Culloden, which was fought upon the 16th April 1746, if the country was not completely quieted, the friends of government were inspired with confidence; and they entertained no doubt of public security being speedily restored. George Drummond, who has been already mentioned, as in a manner the founder of this hospital,† was elected Lord Provost of Edinburgh a short time after; and one of the first acts of his administration was to institute clinical lectures in the Infirmary. The interest of the institution was evi-

* Scots Mag. vol. xii. p. 52.

† In the public hall of the Infirmary there is an elegant bust of him, executed by *Nollekins*, upon which is the following inscription; "George Drummond, to whom this country is indebted for all the benefit which it derives from the Royal Infirmary."

dently "interwoven with that of the university. The managers resolved to adopt every measure that could tend to facilitate medical education, and to render it complete. They, therefore, permitted all students of medicine, upon paying a small gratuity, to attend the hospital, that they might have all the benefit that could be derived from the practice of the physicians and surgeons. What the students paid for their admittance was allotted to the annual support of the house, and hath now arisen to a considerable sum. Farther, the managers, considering that the defect of clinical lectures in medical seminaries had often proved a ground of complaint, gave liberty to the professors of medicine to lecture on such cases of the patients as they should find most conducive to the instruction of the students."* Dr Rutherford, besides attending to the duties of his class, discharged the function of clinical lecturer, with great credit to himself, for about twenty years; when, through the infirmities of age, he resigned both this and his professorship. He had given lectures on the practice of physic in the college for the long period of forty-two years. He was possessed of very respectable talents; exceedingly cautious in his practice as a physician; and the students reposed the utmost confidence in the opinions which he delivered. He was never hasty in his decisions; had a dislike to the introduction of too much theory into medicine;

* Hist. of the Royal Infirmary, p. 16.—Edinburgh, 1778.

but, when he had once formed his judgment, not easily induced to change it. The late Dr Buchan, the author of Domestic Medicine, &c. who was an admirable judge of character, and whose opinion as a professional man is certainly respectable, and who had been his pupil, says of him, "Rutherford is slow, but absolutely sure." * He died on 6th March 1779.

Dr Andrew Plummer received the elements of his education at the university of Edinburgh. He afterwards repaired to Leyden, and took his degree there, upon 23d July 1722. † He returned to Scotland immediately after, was admitted a member of the Royal College of Physicians, and commenced practising as a physician in Edinburgh. Having studied under Boerhaave, he had formed a strong predilection for chemisty; and, in the plan which he and his associates had projected, that department of medical science was assigned to him as his province. He was very assiduous in the prosecution of whatever tended to promote the advancement of physic; and, in imitation of his great master, was a zealous cultivator of experimental chemistry. In his class, he taught the theories which were then generally received; but he spent much more time in exhibiting to the students a variety of useful and amusing processes, which were calculated to be of essential ser-

* Smellie's Life, vol. i. p. 245.

† The thesis which he published upon that occasion is entitled, "Dissertatio Medica inauguralis de Phthisi Pulmonali a Catarrho orta," and is dedicated to the Duke of Roxburgh.

vice both to the physician and surgeon. The science of chemistry was then in its infancy, and possessed but few of the allurements which now accompany the study of it. Dr Plummer directed the attention of his students to a variety of pharmaceutical preparations that were employed in medicine; pointed out the best methods of obtaining them; explained their chemical properties, and how they ought to be employed in practice. So that a great proportion of his course consisted in teaching Pharmacy.

Dr Plummer was the first who proposed a particular preparation of antimony and mercury, of which he gives a very minute account in the first volume of the Medical Essays. It has ever since been called *Plummer's Pill*, being exhibited in that shape; and still maintains its reputation. He also took great pains to analyze *Moffat Water;* and was the sole cause of so many patients resorting thither for a long series of years. The account he gives of of a case of hydrophobia, which occurred in the course of his practice, is also very interesting. He and Mr Monro were secretaries to the society that published the work in which these different papers appeared. Feeling his health rapidly declining, and that he was unequal to discharge the duties of his office, the celebrated Dr Cullen was appointed to the chair in 1755. Dr Plummer died upon 16th April 1756.

The medical faculty being now constituted, de-

grees were conferred after a much more regular manner; and, with some slight variations, the form adopted at Leyden, where the professors themselves had been educated, was preferred.* The same general plan

* The method of taking a medical degree at Leyden is thus related by Dr Charles Goodale, in "the Colledge of Physicians Vindicated," p. 62.

"Whenever any student hath spent a competent time in that university, or any forcigner comes over to take his degree, he first makes his application to the dean of the faculty, who examines him one hour in the theoretick and practick part of physic; and if he finds him not well accomplished in either, he interdicts him making any further progress, in order to taking a degree, till he be better fitted for so great an undertaking; but if he gives a full and satisfactory account of his proficiency in both, he is sent to visit the rest of the professors of that faculty, who, appointing a convenient time, do all meet together and examine him two hours. And if he be then approved, they give him two aphorisms of Hippocrates to discourse of next day a quarter of an hour; and then they oppose that explication for three quarters of an hour. After this, he is to make and print certain theses upon what subject he pleaseth; which he sends to all the professors of the university, who meet him at an appointed hour, and are judges of his abilities in the defence of those theses against the four professors of physick, who, each man in his place, acts the part of an opponent till an hour be spent. Then is he admitted by the dean of the faculty, having obtained the approbation of the *rector magnificus*, and of the rest of the professors of the university, to the degree of doctor, and receiveth their diploma as a testimonial of his due performance of all the forementioned exercises. This, in short, is the manner in taking degrees privately; but if more publickly, the person that takes his degree is opposed by non-graduates in that faculty, in their publick schools; and the professors of physick, with the rest of the professors, sit by as judges."

has been adhered to ever since. It may be proper, therefore, to state briefly the manner after which it is conducted.

The great many abuses which have been introduced in conferring medical degrees, not in Scotland only, but in every European university where the science of medicine has not been diligently and ably taught, is well known. Regularity in conducting the graduation of candidates, altogether depends upon the manner in which the professors discharge their duty. If they are negligent in the performance of their part, students very soon become equally remiss in the prosecution of their studies. But wherever zeal and talent have distinguished the former, they have universally received a grateful return from the latter: The scholars have caught a generous spirit of emulation, derived from the example of their teachers, which have produced the most beneficial effects. They have mutually stimulated each other to exertion; and the reputation and prosperity of the seminary have been augmented in every respect. The patrons of the university of Edinburgh, fully sensible that its character and usefulness entirely depended upon the exertions of the professors, have been very careful to be fully ascertained of the abilities and steadiness of those whom they have admitted as professors. And these, on the other hand, have been scrupulously attentive to the discharge of their public duty; and, in particular, have never deviated from the resolution they had taken, that none should be promoted to the

honourable degree of doctor of medicine, without having studied medicine at least three years at this or some other university; at the same time, producing certificates of having attended regularly the public lectures prescribed by their statutes, and submitting to be examined in the most solemn manner by the faculty.

The candidate must have attended the lectures given by the professors of anatomy and surgery, chemistry, botany, *materia medica*, and pharmacy, the theory and practice of medicine, and clinical lectures in the hospital. After having composed an inaugural dissertation in Latin upon any medical subject, he must submit it to the perusal of any of the medical professors he may think proper, at least two months before the day of graduation. If necessary, the professors may correct it, and return it to the author with a written certificate, marking at the same time on it the day upon which he received it. The dissertation, accompanied with the certificate, is then to be delivered to the dean of the faculty of medicine, in order that it may be submitted to the whole faculty. A question, either written, or *viva voce*, is proposed to the candidate; and he is afterwards examined, in the presence of the faculty, by two professors, as to the proficiency he has made in his medical studies. One of the *Aphorisms* of *Hippocrates* is assigned to him by one of the professors; and, at the same time, a medical question by another, provided that he

has given satisfaction on the previous trials. The former he is to illustrate by a commentary; and return an answer to the latter, confirmed by proper arguments; and both of these he is required to defend before the medical faculty. Two histories of diseases, accompanied with questions, are next prescribed to him. These are to be delivered in writing; and to be defended before the faculty. His former trials being approved of, he is permitted to print his thesis, and is required to give six copies to the dean. Having been approved of a third time by the faculty, he is called upon publicly to defend his thesis; and receives the degree of doctor of medicine after the usual manner. To annex the greater solemnity to the whole business, the examinations, &c. are conducted within the walls of the university. And if any one absent himself, without a sufficient reason being assigned, upon any of these pieces of trial, he shall not receive his degree. All these exercises are conducted in the Latin language.

CHAPTER XIII.

Mr Colin M'Laurin appointed Professor of Mathematics—The Professorship of Midwifery Instituted —Mr Adam Watt Professor of Humanity.

Mr James Gregory had succeeded his brother David as professor of mathematics in the university; and though by no means to be compared either with him or his uncle, after whom he was named, was nevertheless a respectable mathematician. He had discharged the duties of his office for the long period of thirty-three years, much to the satisfaction of the public, and was greatly respected in the city of Edinburgh, especially by the patrons of the college. In the course of 1725, his friends perceived, with regret, that his health was rapidly on the decline, and that he could not be expected to teach his class during the ensuing winter. What rendered this more distressing was, that he had a family that altogether depended upon his personal exertions. Mr George Drummond had, for several years, been a leading man in the council; and, at the usual time, in October 1725, he was elected Lord Provost. He

was not only much interested in Mr Gregory's welfare, but his comprehensive views respecting the prosperity of the university strongly induced him to make vigorous efforts to get that chair filled by a person of distinguished talents as a mathematician. This was, no doubt, his particular duty as chief magistrate of the city of Edinburgh; but, in consequence of the philosophy of Sir Isaac Newton becoming more generally known, and its admirers having wonderfully increased in number, the mathematical sciences were then cultivated with uncommon ardour in North as well as in South Britain; and it may be safely affirmed, that a greater number of philosophers, distinguished for their eminent attainments in this science, never flourished at the same time in any period of British history. The following minute will shew how the business of the appointment of an assistant and successor to Mr Gregory was finally arranged.

"*Edinburgh, 3d November* 1725.

"The council, &c. taking to their consideration the report on the petition of Mr James Gregory, professor of mathematics in the college of this city, setting forth the reasonableness of the council's appointing a joint professor of mathematics with him: That they having fully considered of the subject therein contained, were of opinion that nothing could more contribute to the reputation of the college, than the giving reasonable encouragement to

the justly now so much valued profession of mathematics: That the encouraging of this favourite part of learning in our university behoved, in its consequences, very much to promote the interest of the city: That Mr James Gregory, our present professor, had for a great many years discharged the duty of that character with great abilities, and had upon all occasions behaved himself with the utmost concern for the good of the place, and with all deference to his patrons, so as now, in his advanced years, to entitle himself very much to the council's favour and protection: That Mr Colin M'Laurin, present professor of mathematics at Aberdeen, had made surprizing appearances in that part of learning; and these so very well known to all the learned world, that though he had a very favourable character bestowed on him by very great men, and even by Sir Isaac Newton himself, he did not seem to need any of those to convince us that it was impossible for us to hope for any opportunity of doing a thing more honourable and advantageous for the city, that could contribute more to the reputation of the university, and advance the interest of learning in this country, than the giving Mr M'Laurin suitable encouragement to settle among us. They were therefore of opinion, that, in regard to Mr James Gregory's extraordinary merit, the council should settle on himself, during his life, his present yearly salary of eighty-three pounds six shillings and eightpence sterling, and should likewise settle it on his children,

to be paid to his executor for their behoof, for a term of seven years certain, to commence from Martinmas next; that is, that that sum annually should be made good to his children, for what time Mr Gregory should live short of the term of Martinmas 1732, and proportionally, under this express condition and provision, that if Mr James Gregory and Mr Colin M'Laurin should happen both to die within that period, and that Mr Colin M'Laurin should happen to decease last, in that event, the salary payable to Mr James Gregory's executors should cease and determine from the first term of Candlemas, Whitsunday, Lammas, or Martinmas, after Mr Colin M'Laurin's death: That the Town-council should confer on Mr M'Laurin the character of joint professor of mathematics in the university of this city with Mr James Gregory during their joint lives, and of professor of mathematics after Mr Gregory's death, if that event should first happen during Mr M'Laurin's own life: That, for Mr M'Laurin's present encouragement, the Town-council should settle upon him the sum of fifty pounds sterling annually, to commence from Martinmas next, and to be paid to him by the college treasurer, as the other salaries to the masters are, payable during Mr Gregory's life, or during the term of seven years from Martinmas next, if Mr Gregory should happen to decease within that period; and the sum of eighty-three pounds six shillings and eightpence sterling annually, from the term of Martin-

mas 1732, in the event of Mr Gregory's death before that term, or from the death of the said Mr Gregory, during Mr M'Laurin's life; under this express condition, that Mr M'Laurin should attend the duty of teaching all the several parts of the mathematics, as there should be occasion, during the sitting of the college, as the same had been practised by other diligent professors; and that the council should direct and empower Mr M'Laurin so to do: As also, that the allowance of fifty pounds sterling, payable to Mr M'Laurin, should cease and determine from the time of the commencement of his salary of eighty-three pounds six shillings and eightpence: And, lastly, that the Town-council should expressly enact, that if Mr M'Laurin dies before Mr Gregory, at any time before Martinmas 1732, that, in that event, the whole conditions and provisions therein mentioned were to become void and null, and that Mr Gregory be *ipso facto* upon the foot he now stands, as if the act of council had never been enacted.

(Signed) "G. DRUMMOND," &c.*

Colin M'Laurin was one of those extraordinary men, to whom few parallels, in regard to literary and scientific excellence, are to be found in the history of men of genius. He was a native of the shire of Argyle; and his father, John, was minister of the

* Counc. Regist. vol. li. p. 15.

parish of Glenderule, which is now united to another. He was a most respectable clergyman, had a talent for business, and took a very active part in completing the version of the psalms into Gaelic, which, with some improvements, are, I am told, still used in that part of the country. He had three sons; John, the oldest, who was long a minister of the city of Glasgow,* and one of the most popular preachers of his time; and well known as the author of several essays and sermons, in particular, of a "Sermon on the Cross of Christ," which has been universally admitted to be one of the most eloquent discourses in the English language: Daniel, who died young; and Colin, who was born at Kilmoddan in February 1698.

Mr M'Laurin did not possess the advantages of being educated by his father; for he died about six weeks after Colin was born. The widow and the infant family were much indebted to the tender and affectionate advice and assistance of their uncle, the Reverend Daniel M'Laurin, minister of Kilfinnan. This worthy man was soon called upon to exercise the benevolent dispositions with which he was so singularly endowed; for Mrs M'Laurin died in 1707, when our young philosopher was only nine years old. The care of the orphans devolved upon the uncle; and this part of his duty he executed in such a manner, as to gain great credit to himself, and at

* He died upon 8th September 1754, at Glasgow, of a fever, in the sixty-first year of his age. He had been one of the ministers of that city about thirty-two years.—Sc. Mag. vol. xvi. p. 404.

the same time to be of much advantage to his nephews.

Though Mr M'Laurin was very far from being of a vigorous constitution, yet such was the quickness of his apprehension, the retentiveness of his memory, and the zeal with which he applied to his studies, that he was judged qualified to enter the university when only eleven years old. He was accordingly sent to the university of Glasgow, and placed under the care of Mr Gershom Carmichael, one of the professors, whose fame, as a most laborious and admirable public teacher, is well known. Mr M'Laurin always recollected with gratitude the obligations under which he lay to this excellent man, who took the greatest pains in directing the course of study he ought to pursue, and inquiring into the proficiency he had made. His progress in every branch of elementary learning was very rapid; and the intenseness of his application to his studies, from the time that he entered college, afforded an early indication of what might be expected from him in after life.

The foundation of his knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages had been laid at school; but, at the university, his teachers were astonished, and Mr Carmichael in particular, at the ardour with which he prosecuted classical learning. His youthful imagination entered with great delight into the beauties of the writings of the ancients; and a taste for this kind of study never forsook him during the whole course of his life, notwithstanding the predominant bent of his genius to the cultivation of

mathematical science. He had remained at college somewhat more than a year, before he knew or had heard that such a science as the mathematics existed. Having casually, however, met with a copy of Euclid in the chamber of one of his fellow students, he seems (if I may so express myself) to have been impelled by an instinctive curiosity to become acquainted with what it contained. Though only in his infancy, and at a period of life when the intellectual faculties of boys, who have afterwards arrived at the most distinguished eminence as men of science, have scarcely begun to develope themselves, his powers were so far matured, as to be able to enter with the greatest facility upon the investigation of abstract truths, which present so uninviting an aspect to ordinary minds. In a few days he made himself master of the first six books of the Greek geometrician; and having accomplished this extraordinary enterprize, his predilection for the science of quantity was determined for life.

Perhaps this is the best authenticated instance of any Scotsman possessing, at so early a time of life, a taste for geometry, with which all great mathematicians have, at least in modern times, commenced their labours. The genius of M'Laurin, and the early date of its giving the most unqualified assurance of its decided preference to the mathematics, seems to me to have resembled in its universality that of Pascal, more than that of any modern philosopher. Perhaps this inference has been deduced

from the unequivocal demonstrations which they both gave of having actually possessed it. To compare their philosophic acquirements would certainly be very invidious; and, considering the progress of the sciences which they cultivated, no fair comparative estimate could be made. In some respects, however, they bore a great resemblance. Both Pascal and M'Laurin were passionately fond of classical literature; both have proved themselves to be elegant writers; they had both a strong sense of religion upon their minds; and, to those who have perused their works, their most anxious desire must appear to have been, to apply the theoretical propositions which were known, or that they themselves had demonstrated, so as to promote the real benefit of mankind.

M'Laurin having advanced so far in the study of geometry, and having with ease vanquished difficulties which are in general esteemed to be so formidable, proceeded with increased ardour, if possible, to the higher geometry. Here the rapidity of his progress was equally extraordinary. Instead of being deterred from exertion by the intricacy of the demonstrations which necessarily occurred in the investigation of very difficult propositions, his energies received an accession of vigour; and, when he surmounted one obstacle, he applied himself to that which succeeded with renovated courage. In comparatively a very short time, he was completely master of the elementary treatises of geometry and

algebra; and having maturely digested what they contained, he now began to apply the knowledge which he already possessed; and it is certain that, in his sixteenth year, he had invented many of the propositions which he afterwards inserted in his *Geometria Organica.*

It is a fact which is universally acknowledged, that mathematicians peruse the works of each other much less than any other denomination of philosophers study the writings of those who have treated of the same or similar subjects with themselves. The nature of the science which is the object of their attention, being conversant with *quantity* and its different relations,—these being so intimately connected together, and presenting a field of infinite extent, afford the most ample scope to the inventive faculty; and the pleasure which is derived from its exercise, in the discovery of truth, presents charms far superior to what can be obtained from tracing the steps by which others have arrived at it. The whole science being resolvable into a few first principles, and all ambiguity avoided, from the accuracy of the definitions, and the nature of the symbols employed, render this study (more than the subject itself) so fascinating to its cultivators. The mind is naturally delighted, to a wonderful degree, by arriving at truth, in which probable evidence is altogether excluded. This seems to account sufficiently for the extraordinary ardour with which M'Laurin and other celebrated mathematicians have prosecuted the study

of this science, to which hardly any thing similar is to be found in the whole compass of the other sciences and arts. It also serves to explain the fact, that a man may be very eminent as a mathematician, and yet possess comparatively little general knowledge, and attain a proficiency in his own peculiar province, unparalleled in the annals of philosophy.*

It was fortunate for Mr M'Laurin that the illustrious Dr Robert Simson had at this time just commenced his splendid career as a geometrician; and who was afterwards to shew that he deserved the honourable title of being the restorer of the ancient geometry. This eminent man was admitted professor of mathematics in the university of Glasgow in 1712; so that, in the regular plan of study, Mr M'Laurin must have attended his lectures, if not during the first, at least during the second course which he gave. Simson was at this time in his twenty-fifth year; was connected by consanguinity with some of the professors of the college; and, though originally destined for the Church of Scotland, had relinquished that design, and consecrated his talents to the study of the mathematics. He had for some time, we are told, looked forward to this ap-

* The words of Cicero, in the first book *De Oratore*, are very remarkable. "Quis ignorat, ii, qui mathematici vocantur, quanta in obscuritate rerum, et quam recondita in arte, et multiplici, subtilique versentur? Quo tamen in genere ita multi perfecti homines extiterunt, ut nemo fere studuisse ei scientiæ vehementius videatur, quin, quod voluerit, consecutus sit."

pointment; and, consequently, entered upon his new office with every advantage which great talents, united to the most consummate acquaintance with his subject, and the detail of his public duty, could confer.

Dr Simson was not long of being made acquainted with the extraordinary taste for mathematics possessed by his young pupil, who lived within the college with professor Carmichael. It was therefore a source of no ordinary pleasure to him, whose nature was so generous, and love of science so unfeigned, to superintend, direct, and assist Mr M'Laurin in his mathematical studies. The public and private instructions, and the example, of Professor Simson, seem to have had a most powerful influence upon his future destinies. Like Simson, he was originally intended for the church; and, like him, he very early deserted the schools of theology, and chose in preference, as his profession, one that was more nearly allied to the cultivation of science. They both, however, through life, were distinguished for their piety; and shewed the high sense of religion which they had upon their minds. At this early period they were bosom friends; and the professor, instead of considering himself as degraded by cherishing the most unreserved intimacy with his youthful associate, felt himself stimulated to greater exertion. Jealousy or envy composed no part of the character of either. Science, to use the words of the poet, was "the goddess of the idolatry" of both;

and they lived united in the firmest bonds of mutual friendship and esteem, until what may be termed a premature death snatched Mr M'Laurin from his family, his numerous friends, and the admirers of a singularly happy philosophical genius. Dr Simson retained and gave abundant proofs of this amiable trait of his character, not only in the commencement of his philosophical career, but in extreme old age, when the social passions and benevolent affections of most men are not generally esteemed to be in so full exercise. He had the art of inspiring his pupils with a taste for the science which he taught; and Mr M'Laurin ever looked up to him as to a father.

Mr M'Laurin took his degree of master of arts in the fifteenth year of his age, having regularly gone through the *curriculum*, or public course of lectures appointed by the statutes of the university, which must be attended before this academical honour can be obtained. The subject of his *thesis* was *the power of gravity;* and this, according to the custom of the times, he publicly defended. It ought to be observed, for the sake of those who are unacquainted with the mode in which such disputations were conducted in Scotland, that the candidate was at liberty to select for this purpose any literary or scientific subject he thought proper. The topic proposed by Mr M'Laurin at once discovered what kind of studies had engaged his attention while at the university; and also exhibited a degree of boldness, which could not fail to impress all who were

present. The common subjects of disputation were of the most vague and trifling kind, and adapted only to afford an opportunity of displaying an acquaintance with the mood and figure of the school logic. The mind of our young philosopher was filled with ideas of a very different denomination. The philosophy of Newton was known only to a very few; and even men of science viewed it with something more than a suspecting eye. The geometrical skill which was required, in order to comprehend his doctrines, constituted a complete exclusion to the generality, whilst others had not escaped from the trammels of the scholastic jargon of Aristotle, or the visionary vortices of Des Cartes. M'Laurin's youthful imagination was rapturously delighted with the Newtonian system of philosophy. He therefore chose the power of *gravity* as the subject of his thesis, being the fundamental doctrine of the whole fabric. Upon this occasion, he acquitted himself with great applause. He afterwards illustrated the same subject in a most beautiful manner, in the two last books of his account of the philosophical discoveries of Sir Isaac.

It has been already mentioned that Mr M'Laurin had been originally intended for the church. He accordingly entered himself as a student of divinity, at the beginning of the session immediately subsequent to taking his degree. This was in 1714. But he only attended the divinity-hall for one year. His reasons for doing so are not fully known. Party

spirit prevailed exceedingly in the Church of Scotland at this time, and especially in the university of Glasgow. Mr John Simson, who, if not uncle or cousin to Dr Simson, who has just been mentioned as Mr M'Laurin's great patron, was nearly related to him, was then professor of divinity. It is beyond a doubt that he was no Calvinist. Having received part of his education in Holland, he seems to have entered early into the sentiments of the Remonstrants, who are better known in this country under the name of Arminians; and, when he was advanced to be professor of divinity in Glasgow, he, without regarding the consequences, vented these opinions from the chair. None of his brethren in the church seem to have been disposed, or to have had the courage, to libel him for heresy, as it was only known by the report of the students who attended his lectures, excepting Mr James Webster, one of the ministers of Edinburgh. This zealous inquisitor, like all enthusiasts, saw no difficulties; and as the licence of free inquiry formed no part of his creed, he persecuted Mr Simson with the most unrelenting severity for three years. By this means, the controverted doctrines became the subject of discussion, both among the clergy and laity; and, as usual, the theological students at the Scotish universities were most zealous in the cause. The peace of the church was thus disturbed for the first time since the revolution; and Mr Webster had the merit of being the sole cause of spreading far and wide opinions, of which, without

his interference, the people of Scotland would have long remained ignorant. The church-rulers had great difficulty in compromising the business; and had Mr Simson only remained quiet, nothing heretical could have been proved against him. These ecclesiastic dissensions, however, disgusted Mr Mac-Laurin, as well as many others; and, relinquishing all ideas of being a clergyman, he determined to devote himself to the study of the mathematics and the physical sciences. It is not unreasonable to suppose that, in doing so, he acted by the advice of Dr Simson.

Upon retiring from the university, with the determination of not resuming theology as a profession, he repaired to his uncle's house at Kilfinnan; and, in that sequestered part of the country, prosecuted his studies with his usual diligence and success. Having the concurrence of his kind relation, who had performed the duty of a father to him, he resolved to wait patiently till some secular employment should occur. An opening of this kind presented itself in the autumn of 1717, the professorship of mathematics in Marischall College, Aberdeen, having become vacant.

This professorship was founded by Dr Duncan Liddell, who had taught with great reputation in several universities on the Continent. At Helmstadt, in particular, he first was appointed professor of mathematics; and afterwards, being a doctor of physic, he gave lectures upon medicine in that

university for nine years. It was his fame which principally supported the reputation of that seminary as a medical school. He has treated in his works of almost every branch of medicine, as it was then taught. He returned to his native city of Aberdeen; and, at his death, which happened in 1613, he left a considerable property, which, by will, he devised for various laudable purposes; and, among others, he founded this professorship. "The curse of God is solemnly denounced against any person who shall abuse or misapply the money" he had appropriated for that purpose.* Among other regulations which he made, he appointed the magistrates of Aberdeen as trustees to the fund by which the professorship is supported; and also, that the vacancy should be supplied by a comparative trial.

M'Laurin repaired to Aberdeen, carrying along with him the most ample recommendations from his friends at Glasgow, where he had distinguished himself in so eminent a degree. But the best testimonial which he could produce was his own accurate and extensive knowledge of the subject upon which he was called to give proofs of his skill as a candidate. He was now nineteen years old. Only one other candidate appeared. The magistrates have the appointment of the judges; and they have uniformly exercised the most scrupulous impartiality. Who

* *Vid.* a short account of Dr Liddell, drawn up by Professor Stewart of Aberdeen, and published in 1790.

his opponent was I know not; but he must have been no ordinary mathematician, for the competition lasted ten days;* at the end of which, Mr M'Laurin was declared the successful candidate.

As the session of the college was now about to commence, he set about removing to Aberdeen. He began his labours there at the usual time, and very soon became a popular professor. His great anxiety was to communicate to his pupils a taste for the mathematics; and this he is represented to have done in a considerable degree, not only from the clearness of his demonstrations, and the great pains he took to explain every difficulty which might occur to the minds of youth in the most familiar manner, but also by his engaging manners in private, and the interest which he took in whatever related to the welfare of his pupils. He continued at Aberdeen, discharging the duties of his office, and had the pleasure to perceive his usefulness increasing, and

* When writing, a good many years ago, the Life of the late Dr Beattie, I bestowed considerable pains in attempting to ascertain who this person was. The memory of it seems to be forgotten, because none of the gentlemen to whom I applied could give me any information, though, in other respects remarkable for their fund of literary anecdote, particularly respecting their own university. I have sometimes thought that it was Mr Alexander Malcolm, author of a treatise on arithmetic, and another on music. The last competition for this office was very keenly contested. The three gentlemen are still alive, and well known to the public for their talents. In the above small work, I have attempted a very brief character of Mr M'Laurin, p. 37.

his popularity as a public professor greatly extended. But, London was the great centre of attraction; and he felt most anxiously desirous to visit the capital. Mathematical knowledge was never in so great request, nor its professors so much honoured, at any period in the history of Britain, as it then was. His fame had already gone before him; but, independently of that, he was at no loss for an introduction from the Simsons to the first philosophers of that or of any other age. Dr Clarke had already felt the effects of opposing the standards of orthodoxy established by the church of England; but his works had converted many to the Arian hypothesis; and, among others, Professor John Simson, who was afterwards deposed by the assembly. The latter was upon terms of intimacy with Clarke, and had introduced his relation, Dr Simson, to him, shortly after his being appointed a professor at Glasgow. Dr Clarke, upon perceiving his great mathematical knowledge, of which he himself was a most excellent judge, made him acquainted with Sir Isaac Newton, Dr Halley, and other celebrated mathematicians. It was through the same channel that Mr M'Laurin procured his first letters of introduction to these very great men. Sir Isaac, to say the least, was sceptical concerning the orthodox theory of the person of Christ. His natural caution (and indeed he was under no necessity to declare his real sentiments) prevented him from being explicit; though Whiston affirms it as a fact, in the most un-

equivocal manner, as consistent with his own knowledge. Hoadley, at this time Bishop of Bangor, was a professed admirer of Clarke's opinions upon that subject. These two speedily made his character known as a mathematician to Sir Isaac Newton; who, upon examining his treatise, which he carried with him to London in manuscript, sanctioned it with his high authority as president of the Royal Society; upon which it was published. Two papers of his were about the same time inserted in the transactions of that learned body; and, when only twenty-one years of age, he was admitted a fellow.

Sir Isaac not only patronized him as a young man of genius, and possessed of an original turn for mathematical investigation, but he seems to have formed a peculiar friendship for him, which exceeded the temperate bounds within which he was accustomed to confine himself in his intercourse with the numerous candidates for his favour, and who were making daily application to him. Mr M'Laurin was naturally of an open ingenuous disposition; modest, but very communicative upon a proper occasion; and withal possessed a very genteel address; all of which operated much in his favour. Previous to his undertaking this journey, he was, as all those who understand it as well as he did must be, an enthusiastic admirer of the philosophy of Newton, and of the almost divine genius of its inventor. His admiration of him, who had done more to extend the boundaries of mathematical science than

almost all mankind besides, was excessive; but when he saw the man himself, and had frequent opportunities of observing so many moral virtues, combined with the very highest intellectual qualities ever conferred on any of the human race, it is no wonder that he was accustomed to say, "That he reckoned the friendship of Sir Isaac Newton the greatest honour and happiness of his life." The chief bent of his studies after this seems to have been to explain, illustrate, and defend the Newtonian doctrines; though he was careful to observe the improvements which from time to time were made in pure mathematics as well as in physics.

It was this first journey to London that laid the foundation of his subsequent fortunes in life. He had by it greatly extended his fame as a mathematician, and secured the esteem and patronage of the greatest philosophers of the age. When he visited London a second time, in 1721, his acquaintance with the promoters of science was much enlarged. In particular, he then formed an intimate friendship with Martin Folkes, Esquire, who afterwards succeeded Newton as president of the Royal Society. This great patron of scientific men ever after maintained a correspondence with him by letter, encouraged him to proceed in his philosophical studies, and was much gratified by being from time to time informed of the progress which he had made. This gentleman's friendship was not feigned; for, upon Mr M'Laurin's decease, he took charge of such manu-

scripts as he had left behind him, was the chief adviser of his widow, and it was principally through his exertions that the world have been favoured with those posthumous works, the "Algebra," and the "Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophical Discoveries." Mr Folkes did not confine himself to mere advice. As Mrs M'Laurin was left with a young family in indifferent circumstances, he gave more substantial testimonies of his sincerity, and never suffered her nor her children to be in distress.

Mr M'Laurin was now known not only as an eminent mathematician, but as a general scholar, and a well bred gentleman; and his company and conversation were much coveted by the first literary circles in London. Lord Polwarth had for sometime been in quest of a proper person to accompany his son, Mr Hume, on his travels. His Lordship was fond of literature and the society of literary men.* He had frequent opportunities of observing Mr MacLaurin's behaviour and conversation; and he had formed a very favourable opinion of both. He engaged Mr M'Laurin to undertake the task of being tutor and companion to Mr Hume, to which a ready consent was given. Being a bachelor, and experiencing no difficulty in procuring a fit person to teach his class in his absence, he felt a strong

* Lord Polwarth, afterwards Earl of Marchmont, had been Ambassador to the Court of Denmark, Plenipotentiary to the Congress at Cambray, one of the Privy Council, and afterwards a Knight of the Thistle, and one of the sixteen Peers of Scotland.

desire to gratify his curiosity by visiting foreign countries. Accordingly, in 1722, they visited Paris, &c. and fixed their residence in Lorrain. It was at this place that he wrote his Essay on the Percussion of Bodies, which gained the prize of the Royal Academy of Sciences in 1724. He spent his time with his pupil very agreeably; and contemplated with extreme delight the pleasure he should derive from visiting those countries so often mentioned in ancient story. These expectations, however, were disappointed; for Mr Hume, being seized with a fever, died at Montpelier. Mr M'Laurin consequently returned home.

The infirm state of Mr James Gregory's health, who was now considerably advanced in years, has been already mentioned; and the necessity of providing an assistant was apparent to all. Mr M'Laurin was the person upon whom Provost Drummond, and the other leading members of the council, had fixed their eyes. A gentleman, however, whose name is now forgotten, had succeeded in gaining over some of the patrons, who promised him their interest. A recommendatory letter from Sir Isaac Newton completely turned the balance in Mr M'Laurin's favour. After congratulating him upon the prospect of being joint professor with Mr Gregory, he adds, "not only because you are my friend, but principally because of your abilities, you being acquainted as well with the new improvements of mathematics as with the former state of those sciences. The principal

difficulty which was now felt, was to provide a fund to pay to him a suitable salary. Sir Isaac had, without Mr M'Laurin's knowledge, generously proposed to the Lord Provost to contribute twenty pounds per annum, during his life, in order to induce Mr M'Laurin to come to Edinburgh. The Town-council, however, declined this generous offer; and the business was finally arranged, as stated in the minute inserted above. Mr Gregory was to retain his salary during life; his family, in case of their father's death, were secured in it for seven years from the date of Mr M'Laurin's being inducted joint professor; and Mr M'Laurin was promised fifty pounds per annum, besides the fees he received from the students attending the class, upon condition of performing all the duties of the office.

He was admitted joint professor upon 3d November 1725.* The subjects which he introduced into the different courses of lectures which he gave, as professor of mathematics, were very miscellaneous. He taught three classes during the same session, "and sometimes a fourth, upon such of the abstruse parts of the science as are not explained in the former three."

* Mr Murdoch, in his account of Mr M'Laurin, states, that Mr Monro was introduced at the same time. All succeeding biographers have copied this. It will however appear, from the account we have given of Monro, that at this time he was only provided with a theatre within the college walls, having been introduced as a member of the Senatus Academicus six years before this.

"In the first, he began with demonstrating the grounds of vulgar and decimal arithmetic; then proceeded to Euclid; and after explaining the first six books, with the plain trigonometry, and use of the tables of logarithms, sines, &c. he insisted on surveying, fortification, and other practical parts, and concluded with the elements of algebra. He gave geographical lectures, once in the fortnight, to this class of students.

"In the second, he repeated the algebra again from its principles, and advanced farther in it; then proceeded to the theory and mensuration of solids, spherical trigonometry, the doctrine of the sphere, dialling, and other practical parts. After this he gave the doctrine of the conic sections, with the theory of gunnery; and concluded with the elements of astronomy and optics.

"In the third class, he began with perspective; then treated more fully of astronomy and optics. Afterwards he prelected on Sir Isaac Newton's *Principia;* and explained the direct and inverse method of fluxions. At a separate hour, he began a class of experimental philosophy, about the middle of December, which continued thrice every week, till the beginning of April; and, at proper hours of the night, described the constellations, and shewed the planets by telescopes of various kinds."*

* This extract is copied from the Scots Magazine for August 1741; and seems to have been published by authority.

The provinces of the different professorships were not then so distinctly marked as they are at the present day; for it must appear evident, that, according to the description of what was taught in the mathematical class, a great part of the course delivered by the professor of natural philosophy must have been anticipated. When M'Laurin first became a member of the university of Edinburgh, Mr Robert Stewart taught natural philosophy; and continued to do so till 1742, when his son John was admitted his assistant and successor. Mr Stewart, senior, had been educated in the Cartesian system, and felt, as might be expected, disinclined to adopt the Newtonian doctrines; but, for a considerable number of years before he gave over lecturing, he abandoned the theories of Des Cartes, and taught Keill's Introduction, hydrostatics, and pneumatics, from a manuscript of his own writing, Gregory's optics, and astronomy, &c. accompanied with mechanical, hydrostatical, pneumatical, and optical experiments. He continued the custom of dictating to his students; a practice which had prevailed for so many ages in all the European universities. Mr M'Laurin's method of treating many of these subjects was extremely different from Mr Stewart's; and the course of experimental philosophy which he delivered, ought to be considered in no other light than as having been intended to furnish to the students an opportunity of prosecuting, at a much greater length, what was handled by Mr Stewart in a very popular manner.

Those who attended this course were his own pupils, who had studied under him for two sessions; he therefore expected that, in regard to mathematical knowledge, they should come well prepared, so that the demonstrations he might have occasion to give, while they were level to the state of their knowledge, might be more elegant and scientific than could possibly be introduced with propriety, if they had been mere novices. Mr M'Laurin, who was possessed of the most benevolent dispositions, on one occasion, however, delivered a course of experimental philosophy, which was designedly popular, and calculated to amuse, as well as to instruct, a promiscuous audience of both sexes. His predecessor and colleague had died poor. He therefore informed the public, by advertisement, that it was to be delivered, not within the college, but in St Mary's Chapel, which was then at the foot of Niddry's Wynd, Edinburgh, "to begin at four o'clock in the afternoon, and to continue every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, till finished;" and was for the behoof of Miss Gregory, daughter to the deceased James Gregory.* This generous action exhibits him in a most amiable point of view. His style of lecturing is represented to have been uncommonly interesting. His external appearance was in every respect in his favour. Thoroughly master of his subject, having the command of plain perspicuous language adapted to it,—

* Caledonian Mercury, January 7, 1745.

of a fertile imagination, of a good elocution, and exceedingly desirous of communicating information, and of pleasing his hearers, as well as possessing great neatness of hands to perform any delicate experiment,—it is not astonishing that, as a lecturer, he excited universal admiration.

As an author, Mr M'Laurin stands very deservedly high. His algebra, and the account of Newton's discoveries, were posthumous publications; so that they are entitled to be exempted from too rigid a criticism. They are, however, excellent in their kind; and the latter, in particular, is to this day the most popular, and at the same time the most philosophical, view of the Newtonian philosophy in the English language: And perhaps, in regard to style, independently of any other consideration, no English author has written upon a similar subject with greater elegance or precision of language.

His great work, however, was "the Treatise of Fluxions," which was published in 1742, in 2 vols. 4to. He had originally intended only to obviate the metaphysical objections which had been raised against the fundamental principles of the fluxionary calculus by Dr Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne, in a treatise entitled *the Analyst*, published in 1734. But, as he proceeded, so many new theorems occurred, that, instead of a pamphlet, it turned out a complete system of fluxions.

The multifarious engagements with which he was occupied, render it surprizing that he could

snatch any time which he could appropriate to intense study. His zeal for promoting every reasonable proposal for the prosperity of the country,—for the improvement of the useful arts,—for the cultivation of science, was unbounded. His obliging disposition, and his great talents, were universally known. Of course, on every emergency, when information was wanted respecting any thing which related to the physical sciences, application was made to him. It was he that proposed to the society for improving medical knowledge that they should extend their plan, so as to include all parts of physics and the antiquities of Scotland. This proposition was approved of; and he was elected one of the secretaries. It was he who proposed to build an observatory in the college.

The memorial which he presented to the Town-council was couched in the follows terms:—

"The Memorial of Professor Colin M'Laurin, presented to the Honourable the Town-council, upon 10th June 1741, concerning building an observatory in the university of Edinburgh.

"The usefulness of astronomical learning, especially to those nations whose prosperity depends on commerce and navigation, is so well known, that it is unnecessary to insist on it. And if it is considered as a part of education only, it deserves encouragement; as it fills the minds of youth with great and noble views, and has a direct tendency to instil the

best sentiments. For these reasons, there is hardly any learned society that is not provided with an observatory, those in Scotland excepted.

"An observatory here could not but be of service for ascertaining the geography of this country, even of the distant parts, by the opportunity gentlemen would have to learn the manner of making accurate observations; and correspondence of this kind over the country, would be the natural consequence of having one here.

"An observatory will be of no use unless it be attended. And though the air of some remote places might be thought more proper for it than that of the college of Edinburgh, yet there being always more curious persons about Edinburgh than any other town in Scotland, and the college being situated on the south side of the town, there is ground to think that the purposes of an observatory will be better obtained by erecting it here in the college, than in any other place.

"Application has been formerly made several times to the Honourable the Magistrates of Edinburgh for this purpose, and in particular in the year 1736, when it was almost brought to a conclusion; but that attempt was interrupted and disappointed by the public misfortunes. There is, however, already a fund of about one hundred and ten pounds sterling for this purpose. And a worthy gentleman, who is possessed of a set of excellent astronomical instruments of a considerable value, has

assured us that he will bequeath them by his latter will to the observatory, if it be built soon; and has already given a curious magnetic needle to it; promising further twenty pounds sterling for purchasing instruments as soon as it is built.

"We are already provided with several useful instruments, but are at a loss for a convenient place for using them, or even for shewing them to the students, or others, having no view but southwards, and that confined by the town wall, which is higher than our windows.

"In order to raise what money may be further necessary for erecting the observatory, and in a manner that may not be burdensome to the good town, Mr M'Laurin proposes to give a course of experimental philosophy this summer, to begin the 22d of June, and that all the money subscribed for shall be paid into such gentlemen as the Town-council shall be pleased to appoint, to see it applied for this purpose; and to oversee the work, in conjunction with those who are entrusted with the hundred and ten pounds that is already provided. He has purchased an orrery; and proposes to give some astronomical lectures upon it, as a part of the course, for the encouragement of subscribers, though these are payed for separately at London. Having likewise purchased lately an excellent reflecting telescope, he will be ready to shew the planets, at convenient hours of the night, to such of the subscribers as shall desire it.

"There will be no expence laid out on the building but what is necessary for its solidity, and to render it fit for the purpose; and the accounts will be open to all that contribute towards it. If there be any overplus, it will be laid out in purchasing instruments. The contributors will likewise have free access to the register of the observations that will be made in the observatory when erected.

"As this building will belong to the city and college of Edinburgh, the assistance of the members and Town-council, either in their public capacity, or as private gentlemen, and of others who have a regard for the interest of the city, or the advancement of useful learning, is entreated by their most obedient most humble servant,

"COLIN M'LAURIN."

He also projected a suitable place for performing experiments, by which our knowledge of nature might be extended; which would certainly have taken place, had not the unhappy rebellion of 1745 put a stop to the plans. For both my Lord Morton and my Lord Hopetoun, two very public spirited noblemen, subscribed liberally to the proposal, as did also Mr Baron Clerk of Pennycuick, a great encourager of science. In short, Mr M'Laurin took an active part in whatever related to the prosperity of the arts or of the sciences, or contributed to the public welfare of his country, or of mankind at large. It was, alas, his exertions in attempting to

fortify Edinburgh against the attacks of the rebels in 1745, that were the more immediate causes of the world being deprived of one who was an ornament to human nature. He found it necessary, for his personal safety, to fly to York, where he was hospitably received by his Grace Archbishop Herring. The weather was very tempestuous when he returned to Scotland; besides, on his journey, he had a fall from his horse. When he arrived at Edinburgh, he felt himself very unwell; and at last it was discovered that his complaint was dropsy. A variety of medicines were prescribed; and he was tapped three times. But all was unavailing. The powers of his mind retained their vigour till within a short time of his death. While engaged in dictating to his amanuensis the last part of the last chapter of his account of Sir Isaac Newton's discoveries, in which he proves the goodness, &c. of God, his amanuensis perceived him faulter. Professor Monro came in shortly afterwards; and he conversed with him after his accustomed manner; and requested him to account for flashes of fire, as it were darting from his eyes, though his sight was gradually decaying, so that he could scarcely distinguish one object from another. In a little time after, he desired to be laid upon his bed; where, on Saturday, 14th of June 1746, aged forty-eight years and four months, he died.

In 1733, he married Anne, daughter of Walter Stewart, Esquire, Solicitor-General for Scotland to

George I. by whom he had seven children. His widow and two sons and three daughters survived him. John, the eldest son, studied the law; and, after making a distinguished figure at the bar, was promoted to the bench, 17th January 1789, under the title of Lord Dreghorn. He was an elegant classical scholar. He erected a monument to his father in the Grey Friars church-yard, upon which is the following inscription, composed by himself.

Infra situs est
COLIN M'LAURIN,
Mathes. olim in Acad. Edin. Prof.
Electus ipso Newtono suadente,
Hunc Lapidem Posuit Filius,
Non ut nomini paterno consulat
Nam tali auxilio nil eget:
Sed, ut in hoc infelici campo,
Ubi luctus regnat et pavor
Mortalibus non absit solatium;
Hujus enim scripta evolve,
Mentemque tantarum rerum capacem
Corpori caduco superstitem crede.

In 1726, the patrons founded a new professorship. This was that of midwifery. The proceedings in regard to it are contained in the following minute.

"*Edinburgh, 9th February* 1726.

"The council having considered the petition of Mr Joseph Gibson, chirurgeon in Edinburgh, with

a declaration under the hands of four doctors of medicine, setting forth the usefulness and necessity of instituting a profession of midwifery; as also, an extract of an act of the incorporation of chirurgeons, shewing their approbation of the qualifications and capacity of Joseph Gibson, one of their number, for teaching the said art and science; they were fully convinced that it would be of great use and advantage to institute this profession; and being well satisfied with the ability and capacity of the said Joseph Gibson to discharge that office, they were of opinion that the council should nominate and appoint him to be professor of midwifery in this city and privileges, with power to him to profess and teach the said art, in as large an extent as it is taught in any city or place where this profession is already instituted; and that he should be vested with the same privileges and immunities that are known to appertain to a professor of midwifery in any other well regulated city or place; but that it should be expressly provided, that he should have no fee or salary from this city out of its patrimony or revenue on account of his said profession. And having likewise considered that many fatal consequences have happened to women in child-birth, and to their children, through the ignorance and unskilfulness of midwives in this country and city, who enter upon that difficult sphere at their own hand, without the least trial taken of their knowledge of the principles upon which they are to practise that art,

and that it would be good service done to the community to put a stop to such a practice, in order to prevent such mischiefs in time coming; They were of opinion that it should be enacted by the council, that no person hereafter should presume to enter on the practice of midwifery within this city and priviledges (except such persons who have actually been bred to chirurgery, such may practise this art, upon passing the trials that warrants their practising of any other branch of chirurgery), till once they present to the magistrates a certificate, under the hands of at least one doctor and one surgeon, who are at the time members of the College of Physicians or Incorporation of Chirurgeons of this city, bearing that they have so much of the knowledge of the grounds and principles of this art, as warrants their entering upon the practice of it; whereupon a licence should be given them, signed by four of the magistrates at least, to practise midwifery. And that the said act might the more effectually reach the valuable ends proposed by it, they were further of opinion that it should be enacted, that the whole midwives who are now in the exercise of that art in this city or privileges, should be obliged, betwixt and the first of June next, to registrate their names in a book, to be kept by the magistrates clerk, in the Council-Chamber, for that purpose; and that the new intrants be recorded in the same book; to the end it may be known who shall, for the future, enter upon the practice of this

art without the said licence; and that the contraveners of this act should be liable in such pains and penalties as by law may or can be inflicted upon ignorant and unskilful persons, for practising an art where their ignorance and want of skill may be of such dangerous consequence to the lives of so many persons; and that they should be prosecuted for such transgression, by the fiscal of court, at the town's expence.*

I was for some time at a loss whether I ought to give an account of the circumstances which accompanied Mr Gibson's appointment; but, after reflecting upon the subject, I conceived that the history of the medical school, and, consequently, of the university, would be incomplete, were it passed over. That he was only at first *city* professor of midwifery, there can be no doubt, and not admitted a member of the *Senatus Academicus*. As the history advances, an attempt shall be made to explain how his successors were afterwards enrolled members of the university.

This institution, like every other connected with the history of medicine in Edinburgh, originated with the colleges of physicians and surgeons; and at first was most probably suggested by, but certainly for a time was conducted by, a private individual. The profession or practice of midwifery has, in all nations, whether civilized or uncivilized, been

* Counc. Regist. vol. li. p. 80.

originally assigned to the female sex; and perhaps this is their natural sphere, when viewed in a certain aspect. But experience has proved, that so many contingencies frequently occur in the practice of this art, as require the aid of the greatest medical and surgical skill. Nature, in ordinary cases, performs the whole; but, in innumerable instances, which happen daily, the assistance of art is indispensible, not only to relieve the patient from the most excruciating pain, but to preserve her own life, and that of the infant. Such occasions, too, are generally so critical in the circumstances with which they are attended, as to require the instantaneous adoption of means to obviate the difficulties that may present themselves; and, after all, practitioners of the greatest experience, knowledge of the anatomy of the human body, and of the irregularities which sometimes occur, are not unfrequently baffled in their endeavours. The fatal consequences which have ensued, and on most occasions have been produced by unskilful management, need not be stated.

At the time when Mr Gibson made his proposal to the Town-council, the practice of midwifery in Scotland was completely engrossed by females; and, in the country, it is nearly so still. The profession of an *accoucheur* was esteemed, little more than thirty years ago, very unbecoming for a gentleman; and so strong was the current of vulgar prejudice against those who practised it, that it was only in the most extreme cases, and, in general, when they could be

of little or no service, that modest women would permit them to be called in for advice or assistance. The case is now fortunately very different. Mr Gibson was the first public teacher of this so necessary and useful a department of medical knowledge; and, for many years, excepting in Edinburgh, there was no school where instructions of any kind, in regard to the obstetrical art, could be procured. There are now two other professors of midwifery in Scotland besides in Edinburgh, one in Glasgow, and another in Aberdeen; in all of which it is taught with great ability. So that students of medicine, and such females as propose to practise midwifery, have the best opportunities of profiting by the instructions of the most able *accoucheurs*, and witnessing their practice, either in private or in the hospital.

Mr Gibson seems to have confined his teaching to giving lessons of instruction to midwives; for, as has been mentioned, the state of the country was such, that application was made to him from no other quarter. The reasons assigned for the institution, are derived from the propriety of the thing, and its being what undoubtedly constituted the subject of medical police. The regulations enacted by the magistrates are very judicious, and, if carefully executed, calculated to be of advantage to the community. Whether any clamant case had occurred, through ignorance, &c. I know not; but the propriety of producing a certificate of qualifications, previous to ob-

taining a licence to practise midwifery, must be apparent, as well as of keeping a register of their names; and, in case of any malversation, rendering them liable to a prosecution. All of these will appear to have been particularly seasonable regulations, when the gross ignorance of midwives at that time is considered. These regulations have now gone into disuse.

Mr Gibson had practised in the town of Leith for some years previous to his being appointed *city professor of midwifery.* He continued to do so in the same place, with considerable reputation, till his death, which happened in January 1739.* His son, who long had the first business in Leith as a surgeon, died a few years ago. From what he has published in the "Medical Essays," it evidently appears that he was a man of considerable reading and observation in the line of his profession, and of great modesty. The longest paper which he published in the work above cited, is on the Nutrition of the Fœtus in Utero, and is to be found in the first volume. Medical philosophers of the greatest reputation have entertained different opinions upon this subject. According to Mr Gibson, in the enumeration which he has given, there are four, which have each had their abettors. 1. That nutrition is conveyed to the fœtus by the mouth. 2. By the umbilical vessels only. 3. That it draws nourishment, like a sponge, on all

* Scots Magazine, *app. ann.*

sides of its body; and, 4. Which was Mr Gibson's own opinion, that it was nourished as well by the mouth as by the umbilical vessels. The first Monro had adopted the second theory; and has discussed the subject, in the second volume of the same work, in a very masterly manner. Its value principally consists in the excellent anatomy which it contains. The physiology may perhaps be liable to objections; and it affords a melancholy proof, among many others, that when man attempts to speculate upon subjects which the author of nature has placed far beyond the reach of his faculties, he is apt to lose himself in the maze of conjectures; and that, after all his reasonings, how ingenious and plausible soever they may be, they are entitled to be viewed in no other light than as the mere fancies of an imperfect creature. I have been led into this train of reflection, from reading the illustration which Mr Monro gives of what he denominates his second problem, *viz.* "Whether the liquor of the amnios is proper food for a fœtus;" which he decides in the negative. The mode of existence of an animal *in utero*, and the functions of which it is capable, and, without performing which, the ultimate intentions of nature, in the production, growth, preservation, and decomposition of living creatures, is inexplicable to man. It is one of those mysterious, but wonderful processes, which nature carries on in her great elaboratory, to explore which is denied to mortals; but it is not more incomprehensible than almost all the works of

nature; as, for instance, how a worm should be transmuted into a chrysalis, and this again into a creature with wings. The controversy between Gibson and Monro, ought rather to be called an *amica collatio*, and is well worthy of a careful perusal.

Mr Laurence Dundas had taught the humanity class with great reputation for the long period of thirty-seven years; but felt himself so infirm, in autumn 1727, that he durst not attempt to undergo the labour of teaching for another session. Being much esteemed by all ranks in Edinburgh, both on account of his private character, and his diligence and success as a professor, when he gave in his resignation to the patrons, it was upon condition that Mr Adam Watt, son of his old friend, one of the city clerks, should be appointed to succeed him. With the concurrence of the Lords of Session, the Faculty of Advocates, and Writers to the Signet, he was admitted professor upon the 25th November following. He is represented as having been a young man of promising talents, and the favourite pupil of Mr Dundas; but he taught only seven years, having died in spring 1734.

CHAPTER XIV.

Professor Simson's case agitated in the Senatus Academicus—*Minutes of the Council in regard to this interference—Mr William Scott appointed Professor of Moral Philosophy—Mr Drummond of Greek—Mr Stevenson of Logic and Metaphysics.*

THE disagreeable effects which were occasioned by the second process instituted against Professor John Simson, by the same Mr James Webster, who had conducted the former prosecution against him with such fervid zeal, were, if possible, attended with greater violence than the first. To be an Arminian or a Pelagian was now considered as a venial fault in comparison of being an Arian, though neither party seem to have been aware that the Scriptures lay no greater stress upon one truth which they contain than another, all being equally sanctioned by the same Divine Authority. When the great body of the people, and all the clergy, of Scotland, were so convulsed by this prosecution, it need excite no surprize, that the baleful influence of the agitation of such questions in a national church would extend to the

universities. In Edinburgh, in particular, it sowed dissension between the patrons and the members of the university. Dr Wishart, the principal of the college, had been chosen moderator of the assembly, and was a man of great good sense and command of temper; and, in presiding at the debates on Simson's cause, he had frequent opportunities of exercising both; for an assembly in those days was little better than a tumult, whenever heresy was the subject of discussion. There is no reason to doubt of the sentiments of all the universities as corporate bodies, though the members, as individuals, might differ. They viewed the interference of the church with a jealous eye. If Mr Simson should be deposed for heterodox opinions, maintained by him as professor of divinity, the same discipline might be exercised upon any other professor, whatever language or science it might be his business to teach. Upon the 13th May 1728, the *Senatus Academicus* met in the college; and as it appeared to be certain that Mr Simson would be immediately deposed, "they drew up and signed a protest, to be given in to the venerable assembly, in the process depending before them, in order to save the rights and privileges of the college, touching the proceedings of the assembly in the process, from encroachments, from any precedent that might be drawn from the venerable assembly's decision in the said process."* Mr Thomas Fenton

* Counc. Regist. vol. li. p. 573.

was college bailie at this time, and was also one of Mr Webster's elders in the Tolbooth Church. He partook largely of his pastor's zeal, and was decidedly hostile to Mr Simson. The Town-council met next day; when he laid before them an account of what had taken place at the college, and had the influence to prevail upon the council to come to the resolution of entering a protest against their proceedings, which he, and the convener of the trades, were commissioned to present at the bar of the assembly; which was accordingly done. As it is intimately connected with the history of the constitution of the college, it is here inserted at full length.

"*Edinburgh, 14th May* 1728.

"The council do hereby authorize and appoint Bailie Thomas Fenton and David Mitchell to give in to the venerable assembly the following protest: Whereas, by grants from the crown, confirmed by parliament, the rights of patronage of the college of Edinburgh, and the powers and privileges thereto granted as an university, with the administration and government thereof, are vested in the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council of Edinburgh, and whereof they have been possessed from time out of mind, and whereto the principal, professors, regents, and teachers of the said college, are subjected, by their own explicit deeds, proceeding on their respective admissions, at least most part of them: And whereas, notwithstanding thereof, the professors, regents,

and teachers of the said college, have presumed to assume to themselves the power of government and administration thereof, by holding a meeting of a pretended faculty amongst themselves, and, as such, have presumed to draw up a protest, on certain reasons therein contained, touching the proceedings of the venerable assembly, in the process depending before you, against Mr Simson, professor of divinity in the college of Glasgow, which is now by them laid before this venerable assembly; whereby the rights and powers aforesaid, belonging to the said magistrates and council, concerning the government and administration of the said college, are openly and avowedly encroached and invaded upon: And, therefore, I Thomas Fenton, one of the bailies of Edinburgh, and David Mitchell, present deacon-convener of the incorporations of Edinburgh, do, by the appointment of the magistrates and council thereof, by virtue of their act, of this date, protest that the aforesaid protestation, taken before this venerable assembly, by the professors, regents, and teachers in the college of Edinburgh, in relation to the proceedings of this venerable assembly, in the aforesaid process against the said Professor Simson, or in any other case, wherein they may presume to take upon themselves to act as a faculty, is most illegal and unwarrantable; and that the same ought to be disregarded and dismissed, and the promoters thereof, and every person thereto accessary, may be liable in

such censure and punishment as such an illegal and unwarrantable proceeding by law deserves."*

No further proceedings appear to have taken place relative to the subject at this time. Mr Simson's friends got the business delayed for another year; but he was deprived of his office in 1729 (for he was determined not to recant), and retired to a small estate he possessed in Lanarkshire. He spent the rest of his life in peace and quietness, being completely disgusted with the ecclesiastical warfare in which he had been engaged fifteen years, that had impaired his domestic comfort, and interrupted the progress of his studies.

Professor Law died in the course of the same year. The chair of moral philosophy, consequently, became vacant. Mr William Scott, junior, son to one of the regents, was elected by the patrons to the office. But, before they had proceeded to do so, they appointed a committee, consisting of the principal and several of the professors, to examine him in presence of the ministers of the city, and report concerning his qualifications. Their report was favourable. Mr Fenton, however, who had taken umbrage at the proceedings of the *Senatus Academicus*, in regard to Simson's affair, and still entertained some grudge against the professors, was dissatisfied that the power of judging of the qualifications of one of their own

* Counc. Regist. vol. li. p. 573.

colleagues should be committed to them. He therefore protested against Mr Scott's being admitted. He wished things should revert to their old channel; and, therefore, urged, that to take trial of a professor of ethics in a private manner was contrary to the act of 1694, which contained a resolution, that upon a vacancy occurring in the college, a program should be published and affixed upon all the colleges of Scotland. In the next place, he insisted that a visitation of the college ought to be made, in order to reform the many abuses and irregularities that had creeped in, to the discouragement of learning. And, lastly, he protested against giving any greater salary to the professor of ethics than what Mr Law had enjoyed. The council, nevertheless, proceeded in admitting Mr Scott.

As there was some appearance of reason in Fenton's opposition, the council were considerably perplexed how matters should be arranged, so as to meet the wishes of all the parties concerned. Their great object was to promote the interests of the university, and thus faithfully discharge the duty they owed to the public. After numerous consultations, of which it is unnecessary here to give an account, it was at last finally resolved on, that Mr Scott should continue to teach moral philosophy,—that all the other professors should remain as they were, only that Mr Colin Drummond, in consequence of his own choice, should be removed to the professorship

of Greek. This is the last instance of what may be called the economy of the university being altered.

Mr Drummond had been a regent for twenty-eight years. He was of the family of Megginsh, and, consequently, was nearly related to Provost Drummond; but what that was, I have not been able to learn. He became very infirm in a few years afterwards, and found it necessary to apply to the patrons for an assistant. He continued, nevertheless, to give private instructions in the college in the Greek language; and, as the medical school was beginning to gather strength, and a knowledge of the learned languages more indispensible to students of physic than what it is at present, all the lectures being delivered in Latin, excepting those on anatomy, he continued, as long as he was able, to read with them the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates, and Rufus Ephesius *de Appellationibus Partium Corporis Humani.* At last, upon the death of his assistant, he resigned his professorship altogether, upon condition of being allowed the salary during life. This was upon 9th December 1741.*

The university received a most valuable accession in Mr John Stevenson, who was elected professor of logic and metaphysics, on 25th February 1730. I know nothing of his early history, further than that he received his education at Edinburgh; and, at the

* Counc. Regist. *ap. ann.*

time of his being admitted a member of the *Senatus Academicus*, was tutor or preceptor in the family of Mr Hamilton of Bargenie. The lectures which he gave were more miscellaneous, and included a greater number of different subjects, than were taught at any class in the college. The ordinary business of a logic class in those days is well known, and has been particularly explained in the former part of this history. Philosophers, however, were beginning to become disgusted with the school logic; and many symptoms were to be discerned, which indicated that its downfal was not removed at a great distance. This was chiefly accomplished by means of the writings of Mr Locke. Polite literature, too, was much more studied in North Britain than it had ever been before. The study of the Greek and Roman classics had never been neglected at the Scotish universities, and at Edinburgh in particular; but an acquaintance with the best English authors was far from being general. It had not as yet become the practice for professors to point out the works that ought to be read and studied, in order to improve the taste; or to specify authors, whose writings were considered as models after which the young composer should copy. The intercourse with England was rapidly becoming more general; and, among other importations, the Scotish *literati* were gratified with having it in their power to procure with ease, and at a trifling expence, copies of the best English classics.

Sir William Temple, in the former age, was among the first who afforded an example of good writing upon subjects connected with taste; and, as an elegant critic, he is not only entitled to the praise of distinguished merit, but also as having been one of the earliest English writers that insensibly formed the sentiments of the public, upon very different models from those to which they had been accustomed, without exposing the pedantry and rage for antitheses, which were universally prevalent in his time, and had been chiefly introduced and patronized by James. Having formed his own judgment upon the great models of antiquity, he left his countrymen to judge for themselves. The charms of his composition fascinated all good judges; and conveyed a degree of pleasure in the perusal, so enchanting in itself, as to leave no time to analyse the principles upon which it was founded. The richness of his fancy, and the exuberance of his illustrations, could never have produced this, had they not been accompanied with an easy, flowing, and melodious style of composition. His long residence on the continent, had drawn his attention to the critical writings of the French, from which he doubtless derived much benefit; but it was his own good sense, united to an excellent original genius, cultivated with the greatest care, that enabled him to transfer the beauties of the ancients into his own works.

The works of Dryden also produced a powerful

effect upon the minds of the students who attended Dr Stevenson's class. It is well known that to many of his translations, &c. he prefixed very long prefaces, containing not only a criticism upon the author whom he translated, but also upon the kind of poem which he gave to the public in an English dress. These essays are composed after no regular method, are quite desultory, the author taking advantage of the epistolary form of writing; but they contain a great fund of most excellent criticism. The vigorous mind of their great author, introduced a new species of composition to the notice of the public; and he seems chiefly to have had in his eye some of the epistles of Horace, of whose critical writings he was a most enthusiastic admirer. He possessed a great store of classical literature. His imagination and intellectual character, in general, was so richly endowed, that he embellished every subject to which he directed his attention. His natural acuteness, combined with the boldness of his temper as a critic, and the confidence he had in his own powers, gave at once an originality to the strictures which he hazarded, as well as an ease and grace to his prose writings. Their miscellaneous nature, or the frequent introduction of episodes, also render them more inviting to young minds.

Addison's papers in the Spectator, especially his criticism on the *Paradise Lost*, were much read and studied at this time in Scotland; and it may be affirmed with safety, that the writings of no author

are better adapted to form the taste and improve the style. He was undoubtedly much indebted to Dryden and to the French critics. Whatever he touched, however, he improved, and that in so delicate but masterly a manner, that nothing in the English language is to be found to excel them in this kind of writing. It is universally admitted, that, taking every thing into the account, he is the best model, and did more to diffuse a general taste for good writing, and has had more imitators, than any other English classic. He has less affectation of metaphysical *acumen* than some others, who have pretended to despise him for his want of depth. The plainness, good sense, and solidity of his criticisms, manifest evident tokens that he could with ease have given an air of greater profoundness to his compositions, had he been so disposed; but that he preferred the form and style of the popular essay of which he has given so many exquisite examples.

Mr Pope, too, had already risen into notice; and his works, both in verse and in prose, were much read, not by literary men only, but by all ranks. It is a well known fact, that his acquaintance with classical learning was very superficial. He knew, however, as much of the languages, as enabled him to enter with uncommon interest into many of the finest passages of their works. By the aid of English and French translations, and, when these appeared to be deficient, by having recourse to the assistance of the living, he made a tolerable shift to communicate to

his critical labours the appearance of much greater general reading, and sagacity of remark, than he was entitled to. One singular feature in Pope's character as an author is, that his verse is by far less verbose than his prose. In his Essay on Criticism, for example, it would be difficult to transpose a single word for the better throughout the whole poem, while every couplet, and almost every line, contains a critical aphorism. The notes on his Homer contain a great deal of good criticism, which, as has been observed, he collected from all quarters; but he manufactured them with such care and art, that he virtually made them his own; and they may be read with great benefit by him who is engaged in perusing the original, even though he may overlook Pope's translation. This probably is the principal use to which they ought to be applied.

The writings of the French critics also furnished many excellent illustrations, particularly Bossu and Dacier. These were laid under very liberal contribution by Professor Stevenson.

The students who attended the logic class were presumed to be well acquainted with the Latin language, and to have read with attention those classic authors that are generally recommended to the youth at the commencement of their studies. According to the *curriculum* then established, and which still exists, this class is the second in the course. They were, therefore, supposed to have studied under the professor of humanity; and, as

Dr. Stevenson's lectures were delivered in the Latin language, it would have been absurd to have employed their time in interpreting Roman authors. Very frequent allusions were however made to, and illustrations given of, the rhetorical and critical works of Cicero, Quinctilian, and Horace. The rules which they had laid down for good writing, and the errors they had pointed out to be avoided, were illustrated by copious examples, not only from ancient but from modern authors. The hours of meeting were two one day, and three another, alternately. In the morning, towards the commencement of the session, the students generally read a book of the Iliad. Dr Stevenson had two reasons for this. Besides becoming acquainted with the progress which they had each made in the Greek language, he wished to begin with an easy author, that those who were most deficient might have it in their power to improve themselves, and come better prepared to the perusal of such Greek rhetoricians as were afterwards to be put into their hands; and it afforded him an opportunity of commenting upon the beauties of Homeric poetry, pointing out the imitations which Virgil, Milton, and others, have borrowed from the great father of the epic poem; and giving to his pupils such a specimen as was calculated to incite them to become more familiar with his works. They next proceeded to read and translate, in the professor's hearing, Aristotle's *Poetics* and Longinus' *Essay*

on the Sublime. These exercises formed the business of the morning hour during the session.

From the brief account which has been given of the manner in which Dr Stevenson spent this hour with his class, it may be fairly inferred, that it constituted a most admirable introduction to the study of literature and philosophy. The ideas which he himself had formed of the proper duties of his office, seem to have been, that this was his proper province. He never attempted to compose, far less to deliver, a formal system of rhetoric, in which a strict regard should be paid to systematic arrangement, or which, by elegance of composition, and metaphysical subtlety, might dazzle, but could be of little real service, to the youth committed to his care. The observations which he in a manner incidentally made, naturally arose from the authors whose works they were perusing; and though no strict adherence was paid to method, I entertain no doubt that it was this variety which captivated his pupils, and gave to so many of them that decided love of letters which afterwards distinguished them through life. In his illustrations, during this part of his course, there was no branch of the *Belles Lettres* which he omitted. Such works as had appeared in his time, were carefully analysed by him; and both the doctrines which they contained, and the manner in which they were handled, were stated to the class with the most unaffected plainness and perspicuity of language. Thus, without professedly investigating the nature of the

principles of taste, by way of dissertation, or in a set form of lectures, he insensibly conveyed to his young audience just notions of the theory which he exemplified in the numerous extracts which he publicly read. He treated, after the same manner, whatever related to language,—its origin and progress; and was particulary attentive to point out the comparative merits of the Greek and Latin languages; and of these again with the English. The philosophy of rhetorical figures was scarcely touched upon by him, as he very justly considered such disquisitions to be far above the comprehension of his hearers. He enumerated, however, the different figures of speech, as they are commonly laid down in systems of rhetoric, but followed the arrangement of no particular author; neither did he always follow his own. The examples which he brought forward, were such as had struck himself in the course of his own private study; or, if familiar to those who were well acquainted with polite literature, might be considered as novel to some of his young friends, and conveyed to them some important or amusing lesson. He was careful to describe the distinct characters of the various kinds of literary composition; and his observations upon history and poetry are represented to have been interesting in a high degree to young minds. The numerous passages which he quoted from the best poets, both ancient and modern, especially, were of this description.

The hour in the forenoon was appropriated to

what, in strictness, was more the subject he was called upon to teach as a professor of logic; and he was not inattentive to this part of his duty. Though he was no admirer of the school logic, yet he considered it absolutely necessary to give a distinct account of its history and nature, and to attempt to render intelligible to his students an art which for ages was esteemed the only avenue to science, which had ruled with unlimited sway without a rival, and had held enslaved the reason of the civilized world. Here, however, he studied the greatest brevity. It was rather introduced as an interesting piece of history, intimately connected with that of the human mind. So far from being an admirer of the Aristotelian logic, he was fully aware of the obstacles which it had placed in the way of the progress of knowledge; and strongly impressed upon his pupils the undoubted fact, that truth was not to be discovered by its means. He used the "*Elementa Philosophiæ Rationalis*" of Heineccius as a text-book; but though he adopted the general outline of that author, he did not slavishly tread in his footsteps. The work itself is strongly marked with a partiality to the philosophy of the Stagyrite, and discovers ineffectual struggles to escape from a bondage, which the prejudices of education rendered him unable to realize. After having very copiously explained, and in many places corrected, the doctrines of Heineccius (during the hour in the forenoon), he proceeded to a much more useful, and to one of his

temper, who was so desirous of communicating information, a much more agreeable department of his lectures. When he was admitted professor, the philosophy of Locke was hardly known in our Scotish universities, and was treated even in England with equal indifference. Dr Stevenson was the first in this country who annexed a proper value to the speculations of that illustrious philosopher, which have created a new era in the history of human knowledge. Bishop Wynne was the first in England who made the attempt to abridge the "Essay on Human Understanding," which even its greatest admirers admit to be prolix in many parts; proceeding no doubt from the novelty, and abstract nature of the subject, and the anxiety felt by its excellent author to avoid ambiguity, and confirm some of his theories, which he was aware might be thought liable to exception, and were in direct opposition to the prevailing systems taught in the schools. This abridgment, Dr Stevenson considered as being admirably executed; and was accustomed to affirm, that it was the best specimen of this kind of literary labour in the English language. Viewing it in this light, he took it for his text-book; and, with uncommon pains, and great patience, developed the doctrines of the "Essay," to render them more intelligible to his youthful hearers. Such speculations were altogether new to them; and it required the earnestness of his address, and familiarity of his illustrations, to enable them to comprehend such

abstractions, and, consequently, to relish inquiries that explained the operations of the human mind.

The last part of the course, which he delivered in the forenoon, consisted of lectures on what in the schools was called Ontology. In these he treated of *being* in general, and its most general qualities. Upon this part of his subject he was very brief; and generally contented himself with explaining the technical terms which had been introduced by ingenious men who had treated of it. He prelected on Devries' *Ontologia*.

He assembled his students three times each week in the afternoon, and delivered to them a history of philosophy. The text-book he used was the *Historia Philosophica* of Heineccius. He also made much use of *Diogenes Laertius*, of Stanley, and the more recent work of Brucker upon the same subject.

The students were required to compose a discourse upon a subject which was assigned to them, and to impugn and defend a philosophical thesis, in the presence of the principal and whoever chose to attend.

I have been more full in my account of the manner in which this worthy, laborious, and most excellent professor, employed himself during the session of the college, than some may imagine was necessary. But the truth is, that it is universally known in this part of the country, that no man ever held a professor's chair in the university of Edinburgh, who had the honour of training up so many young men to a love of letters, and who afterwards made so distinguished a figure in the literary world

as Dr Stevenson. He was beloved and respected by them all; and they ever afterwards retained the most affectionate regard for him.*

He was never married. He died in extreme old age in 1775, and left his library to the university, of which he had been so useful a member for forty-five years.

* None of Dr Stevenson's pupils was more ready to acknowledge the great obligations under which he lay to him, than the late Principal Robertson. In addressing the students the first time he visited the Logic class, in the exercise of his academical duty, he expressed himself in the following terms: "Multa a præceptore vestro, adolescentes generosi, audivistis, quæ scientiæ amorem in animis ingenuis accendere possunt; et exemplo suo, haud minus quam præceptis, viam vobis monstravit, et ratiocinandi recte, et judicandi rite. Expertus loquor. Nam, eodem, quem vos nunc sequimini, professore præeunte, hic philosophiæ fontes primum accessi; hic multarum rerum notitiam hausi, quæ manent adhuc alta mente repostæ, quæ sæpe revoco summa cum voluptate nec minore fructu; et si vos vobismet ipsis non defueritis, multa nunc etiam discere possitis, quæ olim meminisse juvabit. Non enim ab illo imbuti estis scientiæ cujusdam futilis et contentiosæ rudimentis, sed institutis sanæ illius philosophiæ, quæ est vitæ dux, virtutis indagatrix, expultrixque vitiorum, in cujus præceptis unus dies bene actus peccanti immortalitati est anteponendus." Immediately after the dismission of the class, the aged professor, unable any longer to suppress his emotion, dissolved in tears of grateful affection, and fell on the neck of his favourite scholar, now his Principal.—*Vid.* the late Professor Dalzel's account of D. Gordon, M. A.

The late venerable Dr Erskine also, the colleague and friend of Principal Robertson, besides affectionately mentioning Dr Stevenson in his appendix to the sermon on Dr Robertson's death, stated, on more public occasions than one, the great obligations under which he lay to his old preceptor.

CHAPTER XV.

Mr James Smith appointed Principal—Mr John Goldie, Professor of Divinity—Sir John Pringle Professor of Moral Philosophy—Mr John Ker Professor of Humanity.

Principal Wishart died towards the end of 1731; in consequence of which, several changes took place in the university. Dr Hamilton, who was professor of divinity, succeeded to the office; but he only enjoyed that dignity for one year. Mr James Smith, one of the ministers of the city, succeeded him upon 16th February 1732 as professor, and, on 18th July 1733, as principal. In the course of the same year, 1732, Dr Crauford, who had been the first professor of chemistry, but had resigned, and was elected to the Hebrew chair, [illegible] and was succeeded by Mr William Dawson, of whom I know nothing, excepting that he died upon the 15th December 1753; and Mr James Craig, of whom some account has been already given, was succeeded in the professorship of civil law by Mr Thomas Dundas, advocate, who was afterwards sheriff-depute of Kirkcudbright.

This was the greatest mortality that has ever taken place in the college in so short a period. In little more than a year, two principals and two professors died.

Mr John Goldie succeeded Mr Smith as professor of divinity. He had formerly been minister of Earlston, in the presbytery of Lauder, and was afterwards admitted one of the ministers of the city of Edinburgh. It was whilst he was moderator of the General Assembly that the greatest schism took place in the Church of Scotland which has happened since the revolution; and, indeed, he is justly to be accounted as the sole cause of such an event coming to pass at the time, and in the manner that it did. The divisions which had formerly occurred in the Church of Scotland had chiefly regarded doctrinal points; and the unfortunate heretics had been chastised with scorpions, instead of whips. Thus, Dr George Garden of Aberdeen, a raving enthusiast who was a fitter subject for an hospital than an ecclesiastical court, was deposed in 1700, because he defended the principles of Antonia Bourignon. * So seriously was this affair taken up, that application

* Dr Garden was nevertheless an ingenious naturalist. A paper of his, on *generation*, is inserted in the transactions of the Royal Society of London, for 1691, vol. xvi. p. 474, in which he made an addition to Leuwenhoeck's theory upon that subject. It is a curious fact, that Swammerdam, a celebrated Dutch naturalist, about 1680, renounced this study, to which he had been so much attached, and embraced the opinions of Bourignon also.

was made to his majesty's advocate to prosecute for blasphemy all who held her opinions; and the professors of divinity in the different universities were requested "to make a full collection of the errors, and write a confutation of the same."* We have seen the manner in which Simson was treated. This schism, however, had originally no reference to any doctrine in the Confession of Faith. It solely respected the right of the people to elect their own ministers; a privilege, one would think, very reasonable, if they paid them their salaries, but has always been found to be fraught with political feuds and animosities, and therefore incompatible with a national church. The truth is, that the presentation to a church is a mere civil transaction; and the right of doing so is guaranteed by the law of the land. To discourse of an abstract right to elect a minister as pertaining to the people, whether considered as subjects or as christians, when they do not contribute to their support, and when the laws have determined it otherwise, is, to say the least of it, most egregious folly. One of the most popular ministers of the Church of Scotland however, and one of the most respectable, was of a different opinion;† and, in a sermon preached before the synod

* Abridgment of Acts of Assembly, under the article *Bourignionism.*

† This was the Reverend Ebenezer Erskine, minister, first at Portmoak, in Fife, and then at Stirling. From the Records of the Town-

of Perth and Stirling, in October 1732, had openly avowed his sentiments. The subject was taken up by the church courts; and, after various proceedings, he and three others were, in August 1733, suspended from "the exercise of their ministerial function, and all the parts thereof." Being called before the commission in the subsequent November, and having confessed that they had paid no attention to the former sentence, the question was put, "Proceed to inflict a higher censure or not;" when it carried by the casting vote of the moderator, Professor Goldie, "proceed;" and they were accordingly deposed.* This gave rise to that numerous body of respectable dissenters who, in Scotland, are called *Seceders*.

After Dr Goldie had taught divinity in the university for twenty-one years, he was advanced to the principality, in the room of Dr William Wishart, junior. His commission was signed on 27th March 1754. He was generally esteemed a man of moderate abilities, but very attentive to the discharge of his academical duties. He died at Edinburgh upon the 19th February 1762, in the eightieth year of his age, and fifty-ninth of his ministry.

Mr William Scott, whom we have mentioned as being appointed professor of moral philosophy, felt his health rapidly declining about the commence-

Council of Edinburgh, it appears that, in 1698, he was a bursar at the university of Edinburgh, and presented by Pringle of Torwoodlee.

* Gib's Display of the Secession Testimony, vol. i. p. 25-35.

ment of 1734. This melancholy event happening in the middle of the session, the patrons were at a considerable loss to procure a fit person to carry on the business of the class, as it had long been, and still is, a standing rule with them, that they will permit no professor to nominate his assistant, from whatever cause the necessity of having one may arise. This nomination they reserve to themselves. Dr, afterwards Sir John, Pringle, Bart. had returned from Leyden, where he had graduated a very short time before (1730), and proposed to settle in Edinburgh as a physician. As an immediate introduction to an extensive medical practice is a thing almost quite unknown in any country, it was not to be expected that his success could be great, in so short a time, at Edinburgh, where there were so many eminent physicians, who had been long established, and the competition consequently so great. Being in a measure unemployed, of an aspiring temper, and having a taste for literature, he thought of offering himself as a candidate for the office of professor of moral philosophy, provided that the patrons would elect him joint professor with Mr Scott, whose state of health rendered any expectation of resuming his labours altogether hopeless. This arrangement, therefore, took effect upon the 23d February 1734.*

Sir John Pringle was born at Stitchell, in the county of Roxburgh, on the 10th April 1707. His

* Counc. Regist. *ap. ann.*

father was a baronet of the same name, and his mother was sister of Sir Gilbert Elliot of Stobs.* He was the youngest son; and though his father possessed a considerable fortune, yet, according to the common custom of Scotland, as a younger branch of the family, his patrimony was not very ample. Being removed at a great distance from any school, and having four sons, his father preferred the plan of having a private tutor at home, rather than sending them to a boarding-school. Besides, he thus had the pleasure of seeing them educated under his own eye. When he was deemed fit to enter a university, he was sent to St Andrews. The reason of this preference was, that his uncle, Dr Francis Pringle, was professor of Greek, and practised as a physician in that city.† It was probably his example which directed the views of young Pringle to medicine. Having remained here for several years, under the roof of his uncle, who took the charge of his education, he removed to Edinburgh in 1727, when its medical school was yet in its infancy, and attended the lectures for one session only. Boerhaave's reputation was so great, that students flocked

* Kippis' Life of Pringle, p. 4.

† Dr Kippis only calls him "a near relation of his father" But, in Sir John's "account of the success of the *Vitrum Ceratum Antimonii*," published in the Medical Essays, vol. v. p. 166, his words are, "The next testimony is two cases, which I found among my *uncle* Dr Francis Pringle's papers, wrote with his own hand.

to Leyden from every country in Europe; and as he was now considerably advanced in years, multitudes, and among the rest Mr Pringle, were impatient to repair thither, lest they should be deprived of the opportunity of benefiting by his instructions. Having taken his degree at Leyden, upon 20th July 1730, and published his thesis, which was "*De Marcore Senili*," * he returned to Edinburgh, and began to practice as a physician.

There is little reason to doubt that this profession of moral philosophy was considered by him as only a secondary object. The manner in which he acquitted himself in the chair, according to the testimony of the most candid and unexceptionable judges, clearly demonstrates that this was the case. The truth is, that he who is determined to distinguish himself as the teacher of any science, must devote the whole of his attention, and direct the whole bent of his genius, to the cultivation of it. If his attention be distracted by a diversity of pursuits, he may add to his own general knowledge; but his usefulness as a public lecturer will be most materially impaired. There was great likelihood of this being the case, when the subjects were so exceedingly different as that of medicine and moral philosophy. It is not meant to insinuate that he neglected his duty as a professor. To do so, would be to assert what is

* Haller's observation upon it is, "Disputatio ad mentem Boerhaavii."—Meth. Stud. Med. p. 326.

directly contrary to the fact. But one thing is certain, that his genius, or early habits, either did not lead him to the cultivation of moral science, or he had formed what seems to have been a misconception of what ought to constitute the leading topics of discussion in such a course of philosophy.

There is no doubt that this, one of the most interesting of the sciences, is susceptible of, and actually has been treated after two different methods; or rather, two sets of philosophers have each chosen to illustrate one department of the subject only, to the exclusion of the other. The one may be called the popular, and the other the metaphysical manner. The ancients preferred the former; whilst the moderns, particularly since Lord Bacon's time, have been partial to the latter. Under ethics, the former principally included an enumeration and illustration of the various duties which we are called upon, as rational creatures, to perform. And their treatises upon that subject chiefly consist of systems of rules, by which the conduct ought to be regulated. They divided, however, their speculations into two parts. In the first, they investigated the principles and foundation of morality; a question on which the different sects of philosophy held distinct and opposite opinions. The Stoics, the Epicureans, the Peripatetics, &c. were far from being agreed upon this head; and, according to the particular notions they entertained respecting the determination of this point, their systems of philosophy received a corresponding colour-

ing. In the second was delivered a code of precepts, applicable to the various purposes of life, and intended to direct mankind how they may be most useful to their fellow-creatures, and acquit themselves to the best advantage in the various relations in which they may be placed. The ancients considered that our native country had superior claims upon our services, and commanded our regards more imperiously than any other object. This, therefore, was the first class of moral duties which was explained by them. Next succeeded those which we owe to our parents, to our children, and our friends. The illustration of these constitute the subject of the ethical writings of Plato, Xenophon, Aristotle, Cicero, Epictetus, and Marcus Antoninus.

Though the philosophy of man, considered as a social being, was cultivated by them with the greatest eagerness and success, yet they never seem to have attempted an analysis or classification of his mental powers, whether speculative or active. It would be difficult to assign a reason for this; but the fact is incontrovertible, that what may be called the *intellectual* philosophy is entirely of modern date, and was first brought into notice in this island by the illustrious Locke, whose example was, in the course of time, imitated by the other nations of Europe.

Dr Pringle followed the method which the ancients had pointed out to him; and was, if possible, even less metaphysical than many of them, who have discussed, with great acuteness, the principal ques-

tions relative to morals. "He entered not," says Dr Erskine, "into curious disquisitions on the foundations of morality, or on the progress of society, and soon dispatched what he chose to say on pneumatics and natural religion."* The discussion of subjects which required the possession and exertion of the faculty of abstraction in a considerable degree, never seems to have been congenial to his mind; and it is probable that he did not easily enter into disquisitions which involved so abstract ideas. This may account for what Dr Kippis relates of him, "that he lost all regard for them in the latter part of his life."† His lectures were composed of a series of moral essays upon such important sujects as he imagined would be of essential service to his young hearers when they entered upon public life, had a tendency to improve their moral faculty, and prepare them for acting their part well in society. These topics were certainly of the highest importance; and, if well handled, could hardly fail of interesting the youth. His lectures were, as is sometimes said of sermons, altogether practical; but, without being hypercritical, it may surely be asked, Whether this was his proper province as professor of moral philosophy? Or, whether he was not to be blamed for not explaining and illustrating the philosophical doctrines of Locke, which had been forty years in the possession of the

* Appendix to funeral sermon on Dr Robertson.

† Pringle's Life, p. 69.

public? It was his usual practice also to read very copious extracts from Plutarch, Montaign, Charron, Bacon, Sidney, Harrington, Molesworth, and others, in order to illustrate some of the observations he had made in the course of lecturing.

The students were required to compose essays on prescribed subjects, if the doctor was satisfied with the proficiency which they appeared to have made. Sometimes these were in Latin, and sometimes in English. They were delivered in the presence of the principal, who made remarks upon them; and every one who chose might attend.

Dr Pringle's success in life is well known to have been remarkable. His regularity of conduct, and punctuality in his professional employment, were very early distinguishing features of his character. He owed a good deal, too, to his own connexions, being descended from one of the most respectable families in the south of Scotland. The person, however, who rendered him the most essential service, and may be justly called his patron, was Dr Stevenson, who introduced him to the notice of the Earl of Stair. His Lordship was so well pleased with Dr Pringle, that, in a short time after, he first appointed him his own physician as commander of the British army; and, upon the 24th August 1742, he was constituted physician to the military hospital in Flanders. The manner in which he discharged the important duties of this office, to which so great responsibility is annexed, is quite familiar to the public. His great

work, on the Diseases of the Army, and which was the fruit of his experience in Flanders, not only extended his fame greatly, but constituted a new era in the mode of carrying on war in modern times.

The patrons of the college gave him leave of absence; and permitted him to employ Mr Cleghorn, who shall be mentioned afterwards, to do the duty of the class. Preferment, however, in the army, was rapidly conferred upon him. Notwithstanding Lord Stair's retiring from the army, his successor, the Duke of Cumberland, appointed him, on 11th March 1744, physician-general to his majesty's forces in the Low Countries and parts beyond the seas; and next day, physician to the royal hospitals in the same countries. In consequence of receiving these promotions, he sent in his resignation of the professorship.

This letter was addressed to Bailie Gavin Hamilton, the presiding magistrate; for, in consequence of the rebellion, there was no Lord Provost for 1745.

"*Edinburgh, 27th March* 1745.

"The following letter was produced in council, by Bailie Gavin Hamilton, from Dr Pringle.

"*London, 19th March* 1745.

"SIR,—I address this letter to you, as presiding magistrate, and in name of the Honourable Town-council, in order to acquaint you, that being unable to assure the curators and patrons of the college of re-

turning to the exercise of my academical duty by November next, I do hereby resign my office of professor of ethic and pneumatic philosophy in the university of Edinburgh, agreeable to the contents of a letter I wrote to the late Lord Provost; and if I have anticipated the time specified in that letter, it is in compliance with what I presume is still your desire, that my successor may have sufficient time to prepare lectures for the ensuing session of colleges. The town and university may believe, Sir, that though I have quitted the chair, I shall never cease wishing well to, and acting on all occasions for the service of, that learned society; and whatever person the patrons shall appoint my successor, I shall think it my duty, if there be place for my service, to assist him with all the materials my experience of science or of the world may have furnished me, for the improvement of that branch of philosophy. I desire further, Sir, and with all sincerity, that the Town-council, representatives of the people, my fellow citizens, may believe it ever was and will be my study to deserve well of the community, and to retain with them that approbation of my behaviour I was honoured with in their first letter to me last summer, not listening to any other account of me, than that I am of the city of Edinburgh, as you know me to be, with respect, Sir, your most obedient and affectionate humble servant,

"Jo. Pringle."

He was, in 1745, recalled from Flanders, in order to accompany the forces that were to be sent against the rebels, and was present at the battle of Culloden. About the same time, he was elected a member of the Royal Society; and, after various medical preferments, he was chosen president of that learned body on 30th November 1772, when in the sixty-sixth year of his age. After holding this honourable office for six years, he resigned it, partly through the infirmities of old age, but chiefly in consequence of the violence of the disputes that then agitated the society, respecting the question, Whether pointed or blunted conductors are the most efficacious in preserving buildings from the pernicious effects of lightning? Feeling the infirmities of old age making rapid advances, he resolved to leave London, and settle in Edinburgh. This he carried into execution in 1781. Notwithstanding the marked attention which was shewn to him in this the old place of his residence, he felt himself uncomfortable, and removed to London in the autumn. But, previously to this, he requested the late Dr John Hope, professor of botany, and son-in-law to Dr Stevenson, who had patronized him in early life, to present ten volumes folio, of medical and physical observations, in manuscript, to the Royal College of Physicians, upon the conditions that no part of them should be printed, and not lent out of the library upon any pretence whatever. He was at the same time em-

ployed, we are told by Dr Kippis, "in preparing two other volumes, to be given to the university, containing the formulas referred to in his annotations." It is probable that he did not live to finish these; for they were never presented.

Sir John Pringle died upon the 18th January 1782. Though Sir John appears to have had little taste for metaphysics, or even poetry, he was a most zealous patron of physical science. He had frequent opportunities of shewing this during his presidency; in which station he acquitted himself with so much honour, and was of so great service to the philosophical world. His discourses on the annual assignments of Sir Godfrey Copley's medal, afford sufficient proofs of his great general acquaintance with physics, of the ardour with which he entered into whatever experiments contributed to extend our knowledge of nature, and of the benevolence of his heart as a man and a philosopher.

Upon the decease of Mr Adam Watt, the patrons, with the concurrence of the other electors, preferred Mr John Ker to the professorship of humanity. The qualifications of this gentleman were well known to them. He was born at Dunblane; had been schoolmaster at Crieff; and, upon occasion of a vacancy in the high-school of Edinburgh, sometime about 1710, he became a candidate; and, after a comparative trial, in the presence of the patrons, a committee of the ministers and professors being the examinators,

he was elected one of the masters of that seminary. He continued to discharge the duties of that office with great approbation till 1717. The rebellion, which happened in Scotland in 1715, produced a great sensation throughout the whole country, but particularly in the north. None had distinguished themselves more zealously in the cause of the Pretender than the members of King's College, Aberdeen. When internal peace was restored, and the rebels, to all appearance, completely vanquished, government determined to institute an inquiry into the conduct of the principal and professors during that critical conjuncture. Accordingly, a royal commission, for visiting both King's and Marischall College, was issued in July 1716. The effect of which was, that Dr George Middleton, the principal of King's College, and three of the professors, were removed from their offices.* It was some time before successors were appointed. Mr Chalmers, minister at Kilwinning, was nominated principal, so early as 22d November 1717, by virtue of a royal presentation, accompanied with a commission to the magistrates of Aberdeen, and certain ministers in both towns, to grant him admission to the office. But it would appear that the old established method of electing professors, sanctioned by the statutes of the college, was allowed to take its course; and, conse-

* Statist. Acc. vol. xxi. p. 77.

quently, somewhat longer time was necessary before new professors could be appointed. Several causes contributed to retard the new arrangement from taking immediate effect. The funds were very low; the buildings stood in great need of repair; and the salaries of the masters were so mean, that it was found necessary to send Principal Chalmers to London to supplicate his Majesty's bounty. It was determined also, at this time, to make some alteration in the plan of education; and this principally respected the method in which the Greek had been taught. It was the custom, at that time, for one professor to carry one set of students through their whole course. The professors taught, by rotation, the different branches of philosophy, and Greek also. The latter "was, about the beginning of the century, allotted, by a royal and parliamentary visitation, to a separate professor."* So that Mr Ker was the first professor of Greek in King's College, Aberdeen, whose sole duty it was to teach that language. I cannot help thinking it extraordinary that he should have received this appointment in 1717, considering how much party spirit then prevailed throughout the country, and how alert the agents of government were to ascertain the political principles of every one who was a candidate for a public situation. It is well known that he was the

* Statist. Acc. vol. xxi. p. 82.

intimate friend of Dr Pitcairn, and had written Latin poems upon the subject of the Doctor's death. His associates appear to have been principally Jacobites. Whether he possessed the prudence or the art to conceal his real sentiments, or whether he recanted, I know not. It is not improbable that he had been educated at this university, because his partiality to it was very great. About 1725 he published a poem, entitled "*Donaides*," in which he is said to have commemorated in Latin verse a great number of the many illustrious scholars who received their education at that seminary. I have not been able to procure a sight of it. Though it be in the catalogues, it is not to be found in any of the public libraries in Edinburgh.

Mr Ker was professor of the Greek language in King's College for about seventeen years; and was elected professor of *Humanity* in the university of Edinburgh upon the 2d October 1734.* He was now restored to his former associates, prosecuted his studies with great vigour, and rapidly became a very popular teacher. The authors which he read in the first class were nearly the same as are taught in the highest class of the high-school. But as a great proportion of his students had been educated at that seminary, he selected different passages from those which they had read there. In addition to those, they also perused some of Juvenal's *Satires*, generally

* Counc. Regist. *ap. ann.*

the tenth; and sometimes a portion of Claudian or Lucan. In obedience to the injunction of the general assembly, he latterly read Buchanan's *Psalms*, and Boyd's *Hecatombe Christiana*, every Monday morning, as a sacred lesson, which they could prepare on Sunday. He spent a portion of every morning in going over the material part of Ruddiman's Grammar, commenting upon and illustrating the rules as he went along. After the same manner, he used Vossius' Compend of Rhetoric as a text-book; and read Drummond's Compend of Ancient and Modern Geography. The students were required to compose Latin orations, and deliver them publicly before the whole class.

In the second, or what was then, and is sometimes still called the *private* class, the students were engaged in reading the Epistles and *Ars Poetica* of Horace, Tacitus, and sometimes Suetonius and Pliny's Panegyrics.

A most candid and very competent judge, the late Dr Erskine, informs us, "that Mr Ker had peculiarities in his manner of teaching; and, perhaps from an enthusiastic passion for the books he explained, sometimes imagined elegance and force of expression where there was none. Yet great was his merit in gaining the affection of his scholars, and great his success in exciting and directing their study of the Latin classics."* He appears to have been quite an

* App. to Sermon on the death of Principal Robertson.

enthusiast in his profession, and to have spared no pains to communicate a knowledge of the Latin language, as well as a taste for Roman literature, to his scholars. This kind of learning was in great request at that time in Edinburgh; and the proficiency of many who cultivated it was remarkable. At the head of those scholars was unquestionably Mr Thomas Ruddiman, the celebrated grammarian, whose accurate knowledge of the Latin tongue stands unrivalled by any modern. So early as 1718, he and the masters of the high-school instituted a society, whose express object was the cultivation of classical literature, to the exclusion of every thing else.* Several of the members of that association were accurate scholars; and afterwards gave proofs of their acuteness as critics in philosophy, and the ardour with which they prosecuted their favourite studies. Besides Ruddiman, Mr John Love, one of the masters of the high-school, who afterwards removed to Dalkeith, was an eminent classical scholar. His review of *Trotter's Latin Grammar* is a masterly performance, and may still be perused with profit, though the treatise which gave occasion to it has long sunk into oblivion. The *notorious Lauder* was also a member, who, whatever may be affirmed of his morals, was undoubtedly a good linguist, which even his absurd and wicked attempt to prove Mil-

* Chalmers' Life of Ruddiman, p. 83.

ton guilty of plagiarism sufficiently shewed.* These and others were speedily joined by Mr Home, afterwards Lord Kames, who was not as yet called to the bar; but feeling the effects of having neglected the cultivation of classical learning, he began about this time to study, with his accustomed ardour, those ancient monuments of elegant composition. Mr Archibald Murray, Mr James Cochran, and some other members of the Faculty of Advocates, together with Mr George Wishart, afterwards one of the ministers of Edinburgh, considered themselves as honoured by being admitted as members.

Whether Mr Ker was one of the original founders, I think may be doubted; but, upon his return to Edinburgh in 1734, he joined his old associates, and became a very active member. This is the more singular, as his chief opponent in obtaining the professorship of humanity was *Lauder*, who stood a candidate for the office, having taught the class during the term of Mr Watt's sickness, of which he

* Very little of Lauder's early history is known. His forgeries in regard to Milton afford just grounds for suspecting his veracity upon any subject. In p. 51, however, of the *Poetarum Scotorum Musæ Sacræ*, which was printed by Ruddiman, he informs us that he was nephew to the celebrated Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall. Sir John was one of the most upright judges, and one of the best lawyers, which this country ever produced. The library of the Faculty of Advocates is more indebted to Lord Fountainhall for his manuscript collections than to any other single collector.

died. T Lauder was of a very irritable temper, which his own imprudencies and disappointments did not contribute to rectify. He was in poor circumstances; and his acquaintances seem to have looked upon him as an object of compassion. It was under the influence of this principle, that Sir Robert Stewart, professor of natural philosophy, Messrs Ker and Ruddiman, permitted their names to be mentioned as contributors in Lauder's proposals for printing by subscription "a Collection of Sacred Poems."* This work was printed in 1739.

Besides the "*Donaides*," which has been already mentioned, Mr Ker also published, in 1727, *Cantici Salomonis Paraphrasis Gemina*, also verses on the death of Dr Pitcairn and Scott of Thirlestane, &c. That he was well skilled in the Latin language cannot admit of a doubt; but it does not fall to the lot of every good scholar to be able to write elegant verses. The success of Pitcairn seems to have excited great emulation in the breasts of the contem-

* "I was so sensible," says Ruddiman, "of the weakness and folly of that man, that I shunned his company as far as decently I could." —Chalmers, p. 150.

† The title of the work is "*Poetarum Scotorum Musæ Sacræ*; sive quatuor sacri Codicis scriptorum, Davidis et Solomonis, Jobi et Jeremiæ, Poetici, per totidem Scotos, Arct. Jonstonum et Jo. Kerrum, P. Adamsonum et G. Hogæum, Latino carmine redditi. Quibus ob argumenti similitudinem, adnectuntur alia, Scotorum itidem, opuscula sacra.—Edin. 1739.—8vo."

porary scholars in Scotland. Their admiration of him was excessive; and the praises which they bestow, turn as much upon the qualities of his heart as the extent of his genius. Mr Ker, in particular, was on terms of the most intimate footing with the Doctor while he lived; and, after his decease, seized every opportunity of embalming his memory. Being pretty far advanced in life before he was elected professor of humanity, he only enjoyed the office for seven years. He died in November 1741, much regretted by his numerous friends, but especially by his pupils.

CHAPTER XVI.

Dr William Wishart, secundus, appointed Principal—Dr Alexander Webster—Mr Erskine, Professor of Scots Law—Dr Patrick Cumming, Church History.

In consequence of the death of Principal James Smith, who had held his office for only three years, the patrons discovered the greatest solicitude to provide a man of talents as a successor. Mr Smith had been admitted one of the ministers of the city previously to his having any connexion with the university. It has been already stated, that he taught divinity for one session; and the term of his administration as head of the college was so extremely short, that neither his colleagues nor the public had sufficient time to form a just opinion concerning him in that character. They were exceedingly fortunate in the choice they made. They unanimously elected Dr William Wishart, at that time minister of a dissenting congregation in London. His father, of the same name, had presided over the university of Edinburgh for nearly sixteen years; and, though not

equal to him as an elegant scholar, or as a man of extensive information, yet discharged the duties of that honourable situation with great credit, and was much esteemed as one of the ministers of Edinburgh. The person whom they now pitched upon was the son of their old friend, and had received his education among them.

Dr William Wishart, *secundus*, was born towards the end of the seventeenth century. He received his education at the public schools, and afterwards at the university of Edinburgh. Being early destined for the church, he was, when a very young man, licensed to preach the gospel, by the presbytery of Edinburgh, about the year 1716. The Magistrates of Edinburgh, at that time, being convinced that the places for public worship were inadequate to accommodate the population of the city, fitted up a hall, belonging to the corporation of skinners, and opened it as a chapel. Here, as he informs us himself, he preached for three years statedly. In 1724, he accepted of an invitation to become one of the ministers of Glasgow. He first officiated in what was called the Wynd Church, which was thrown down long ago, and was afterwards admitted minister of the Tron Church. Being strongly solicited to accept of a call from a dissenting congregation in London, he complied, and was first minister of the Old Jewry, and then at Founders Hall. When he left London, and repaired to Scotland, he brought along with him the most ample recommendations

from Dr Isaac Watts, Mr Josiah Bayes, Dr Harris, Mr Moses Lowman, and Mr Calamy.*

The election took place upon the 10th November 1736; and yet it is singular that he was not installed in his office till the 2d of November of the subsequent year.† No reason whatever is assigned for this delay. Nay, he does not even appear to have accepted of the offer made to him till November 1737. The reason of his not becoming one of the ministers of Edinburgh at the same time that he was elected principal, was an accusation of heresy; and the presbytery of Edinburgh would not sustain the call. The accusations were very far from being substantiated, and, even though they had been proved, were of a very trifling nature. A very candid and excellent judge, the late Dr Erskine, observes, "that the Doctor was unjustly accused of heresy, for maintaining that true religion is influenced by higher motives than self-love."‡ The prosecution, however, was carried on with great virulence through the inferior courts; but the general assembly vindicated Dr Wishart. There can be little doubt of his having had the promise of the first vacancy; but an opening did not occur till January 1739, when "the

* These are still in the possession of his grandson, Patrick Wishart, Esq. W. S.

† Counc. Regist. of those dates.

‡ Erskine's Sermons, vol. i. p. 270.

presbytery agreed to Principal Wishart's settlement in the New Grey Friars Church."*

The person who was inducted into Edinburgh in 1737, when, according to the usual practice of the patrons, it ought to have been Dr Wishart, was the celebrated Dr Alexander Webster, who, without being presented first to a single charge, according to established practice, was at once translated from Culross to the collegiate charge of the Tolbooth Church. Though this was considered in those days as a great innovation, yet it can be satisfactorily explained. By this arrangement, he became the immediate successor of his father, Mr James Webster, who for thirty years had been pastor of that church. He had long been the idol of his hearers; and whatever opinion he delivered upon any subject was oracular, and instantly acquiesced in by them. They had been so much accustomed to a particular style of preaching, to the selection of certain doctrines, and those, too, treated after a certain fashion, that to have presented Dr Wishart to them, who confined himself much more to moral illustration, would have produced a rebellion, and rendered both parties very uncomfortable. The patrons, therefore, to pacify the congregation, consulted their prejudices, presented the son of their late minister, who possessed very popular talents, and preached the doctrines of Calvinism, though he was not a Supralapsarian as his

* Scots Magazine, vol. i. p. 43.

father was. Dr Wishart was in the meantime prevailed on to delay urging for a little what his predecessor had claimed as a right.

No sooner had Dr Wishart entered upon his office as principal, than he immediately commenced an inquiry into the state of the college. In consequence of the shortness of the time for which his two predecessors had held the office, together with the bad state of their health, different departments of the business of the university had run into disorder; and this was particularly the case with the library. He got a new set of regulations drawn up, in order to correct the abuses which had crept in. No books were lent out of the library; but it was agreed that it should be open six hours in summer, and four in winter. During the former, it was to be kept open from seven to nine, and ten to twelve, and in the afternoon from four to six. The librarian was to attend regularly at these hours; and any student at the university had the liberty of consulting whatever books he chose, provided that he entered his name in an *album* kept by the librarian. On examining this register, which was only kept for a few years, the only persons who appear to have made great use of this privilege, and whom I knew, were Dr William Cullen and Dr Hugh Blair, two very singular exceptions. But even this circumstance demonstrates how early a passion for study had seized these two eminent men, who were afterwards destined to shed such lustre upon the university of Edinburgh.

From the foundation of the college, the duty of the principal consisted in having the general charge of the whole society; in taking an account of the proficiency of the students of the languages and philosophy; presiding at all university meetings, public examinations, trials for degrees, and conferring all degrees. Besides, it was the custom for him, both as principal and *primarius* professor of divinity, occasionally to deliver public orations in the common hall upon any literary, philosophical, or theological subject which he deemed proper. These were attended by the professors in their gowns, and the great body of the students. This practice had never been altogether abandoned; but Dr Wishart revived it, by assembling the whole university much more frequently for this specific purpose than had been done for a good many years. Though it was completely within his province, yet none of his predecessors had attempted to take a minute inspection of the progress either of the theological or medical students. The exercise of this function was considered to be unnecessary, or at least invidious, considering the age and standing of these students; and, perhaps, to render such a duty of any real use to those for whom it was intended, was totally impracticable. He was most laborious in taking frequent opportunities of visiting the junior classes, and of being present when they were examined by the different professors. An excellent classical scholar himself, he took great pleasure in observing

the progress of his young friends; he encouraged and stimulated them to greater exertion; and, by every motive which he could devise, excited them to the study of those admirable models which the ancients have transmitted to us. But the Doctor's enlarged views were not alone confined to the cultivation of the learned languages. He was intimately acquainted with the ancient as well as modern moralists; and the natural bent of his studies, as well as his genius, led him to cherish in the breasts of such young men, as he perceived to be possessed both of application and talents, an increasing desire to add to their stock of knowledge. When any discourses or orations were to be delivered, he regularly honoured the meeting with his presence, listened to the juvenile essays with the most marked attention and patience, and criticised them with the most unaffected candour. Such young men as were distinguished for their good dispositions, and gave tokens of genius, became the peculiar objects of his regard. This paternal care was not only extended to them during the term of their attendance at college, but was also testified upon every future occasion, whenever he had an opportunity of rendering them any service. By the prudence and propriety of his conduct, as the head of the university, he gained the esteem and affection of all.

Dr Wishart was not only intimately acquainted with the classics, but his knowledge of the writings of those modern authors who are distinguished for

the purity of their Latin style, was very extensive. Among these, the celebrated dialogue of the amiable but unfortunate Florence Wilson, or *Volusenus*, *De Animi Tranquillitate*, was much admired by him, as it has been by every lover of the Socratic school, and of elegant latinity, who has perused it. The Doctor, when residing in London, had formed an intimacy with most of the literary characters in the metropolis. Among others, he seems to have been in habits of the most unreserved friendship with Dr John Ward, one of the professors of Gresham College, and author of a treatise on oratory. When the Principal had determined to reprint *Volusenus*, Dr Ward prefixed a letter to the edition, in which he modestly, but with great justice, describes Dr Wishart's character and zeal for the improvement of the students under his care. In 1743, he also published Ernesti's Preface to his edition of Cicero.

Dr Wishart's zeal to promote the cause of literature was not confined within the walls of his college. He was ever ready to join in the most hearty co-operation with those who cultivated letters. Classical learning was then taught in the schools and universities with considerable success; but little attention had been paid by the Scotish *literati* to the cultivation of a good English style. From the time of the accession of James to the throne of England, Scotish authors had avowedly proposed to imitate their more southern neighbours in their language; but many causes concurred to prevent this

from taking full effect for more than a century. The nation, during the whole of that period, was convulsed by internal commotions, and the public mind so distracted, that little leisure was afforded for such kind of studies. After the union, however, and when the minds of men had time to recover from the agitation of the rebellion of 1715, the examples which had been given in England began to exercise their attention, and become the objects of their imitation. Associations of literary men began to be formed for this express purpose, whose mutual intercourse stimulated each other. One of the earliest institutions of this kind was "the Rankenian Club," so called from the name of the tavern-keeper in whose house they assembled. The gentlemen who composed it* spent their hours of meeting in literary conversation, making critical remarks on any new works of merit that were published; or on the style, sentiment, or manner, of authors of established reputation. One of their number was appointed to deliver an essay upon some prescribed subject at each meeting; concerning the merits of which, every member was requested to give his opinion. Dr Wishart was a very active member of this society; and several of his colleagues united with him in promoting the laudable object which they had in view,—their own mutual improvement. Among these were Messrs

* A list of their names is inserted by the late Lord Woodhouselee in his Life of Lord Kames, vol. i. Append. No. 8.

Macky, M'Laurin, Stevenson, and Sir John Pringle, all of whom have been mentioned in the course of this history. This "club" was formed so early as 1716, and it continued to assemble for nearly fifty years. The Principal was no less eminent as a preacher than as an elegant scholar. The style and method of discourses from the pulpit in those days are well known. The early reformers found it necessary, in self-defence, to publish to the world the views they had espoused concerning the speculative doctrines of the gospel; and, in particular, to explain and confirm their sentiments, respecting the points of dispute that existed between them and the Church of Rome. When they had once taken their ground, they were excluded from having it in their power ever after to retreat. The most nice and intricate questions in theology were defined, and the precise boundaries between truth and error were ascertained, with all the logical precision of which the compilers were capable, in order to anticipate the objections of the abettors of the Church of Rome. This *manifesto*, as it may be called, was originally intended as a simple exhibition of the opinions they held; but they were not aware that they had thus forged fetters for themselves and their posterity, from which even the wisdom of ages could not enable them to escape. All the national reformed churches, in due time, eagerly followed their example. Scotland, among the rest, had its *confession*, as it was called, and which, as the word intimates, contained

an exposition of the opinions maintained by its inhabitants. During that extraordinary period of British history, the time of the civil wars, an assembly was convoked at Westminster, and deputies were sent from the Church of Scotland to assist in their deliberations. They compiled a system, drawn up with more ability and address than any other confession in use among the reformed. After the revolution of 1688, the doctrines of this book were confirmed by act of parliament, and the treatise itself established as a test of orthodoxy in Scotland. The theory of religion, whether true or false, as well as of any art or science, is much more susceptible of definition than the practice; or, in the language of theologians, the speculative doctrines of the gospel are much more easily arranged into a system than its moral precepts. Of course, it is much more easy to harangue an audience upon abstruse metaphysical questions in divinity, than to explain and enforce the practice of christian duties, by motives derived from truths which the Scriptures have revealed.

The popular preachers in Scotland at the time that Dr Wishart began his ministry, chiefly discussed in public some part of the system, taking a doctrine, upon the explanation and corroboration of which they entered with all the formality of a theological professor. A very great proportion of them made it a point to lecture through the Assembly's Larger Catechism; but, if they did not attempt this formidable enterprize, they substituted the Shorter

Catechism in its stead. Another class dealt entirely in allegory; and the more far-fetched the points of resemblance or difference were, the common people went away the more pleased. In short, in whatever shape they delivered themselves, it was made to comprehend a complete system of divinity. They began with the divine decrees, and ended with the day of judgment.

Dr Wishart was among the first, if not the very first, in Scotland, who pursued a very different course as a minister of the gospel. Possessed of a good taste in composition, an accurate judgment, an excellent fund of natural sense, and thoroughly master of his subject as a divine, he determined to trace out a path opposite to that of most of his brethren. Whilst he avoided the vulgarities and technical phraseology which disfigured the sermons of the generality, he determined to combine as much plainness, elegance, and useful illustration, in his discourses, as he possibly could; and all these he attained in a high degree. He was at the same time distinguished, says the late excellent Dr Erskine, for "depth of thought, originality of genius, and the art of gaining attention to the most common and necessary subjects, by new reflections, illustrations, and arrangements."

This valuable member of society died on the 12th May 1753.

Mr Alexander Bain, professor of Scots law, having died about the beginning of 1737, the patrons

gave intimation to the Faculty of Advocates, who presented two persons for their choice. These were Mr John Erskine and Mr James Balfour, advocates. They preferred the former to the office. This mode of election was settled by act of parliament, and the salary, which was L.100 sterling, was, by the same act, 9th of George I. payable out of a duty of two pennies Scots upon every pint of ale and beer sold in the city of Ediuburgh. A grant of this kind has from time to time been made to the magistrates of the city since the revolution of 1688.

Mr Erskine entered upon the duties of his professorship with great ardour; and his lectures excited such interest, that many more students repaired to his class than formerly. The text-book that he used for several years was M'Kenzie's *Institutions*, which had also been employed by his predecessor. He afterwards, however, published one of his own, some time about 1752; and found it much more agreeable to himself, and beneficial to his pupils, to adopt an arrangement which he conceived to be more natural, and that permitted him to pursue the train of his own reflections. After having taught Scots law with great reputation for twenty-eight years, he resigned his professorship in 1765, and spent the remainder of his life in composing his system of Scots law; which, however, was not published till after his death, in 1773. It is still considered as a standard book of the law of Scotland.

Mr Erskine was father to the late and never-to-

be forgotten Dr John Erskine, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, whose literary acquirements were of the very first order. Naturally possessed of an inquisitive turn of mind, ardent in the pursuit of knowledge, he spent a long life in gratifying this passion. But his good sense, united with the strong impressions of religion which he had received at a very early period, had taught him that, as a minister of the gospel, he ought not "to lay up his talent in a napkin." But great intellectual endowments were not the only distinguishing features in Dr Erskine's character. He was candid, open, and ingenuous. His tone of thinking was truly liberal; and perhaps no eminent man ever passed through life with less reproach, even from enemies, who were far from being generous. The friendship which existed between him and Principal Robertson, and which he himself has so well pourtrayed, will long remain as a rare instance of the expression of genuine feeling.

The manner in which the first professor of church history was appointed has been already explained; and that, from some political reason, now forgotten, the Town-council were never consulted upon the subject. After several ineffectual efforts to compel him to produce his commission, the matter was compromised. It is impossible, however, to state all the particulars of this transaction, because (whether through design or inadvertency I know not) there is no further notice taken of it in the records. When Mr Crauford died, in 1737, the King presented Dr

Patrick Cumming, who was inducted to his office exactly after the same manner as the other *regius* professors are at this day. The commission from the King is presented to the Town-council, and is received by them; but it is always under protest, that the Town-council, as patrons of the university, shall suffer no injury thereby. The person presented is installed in his office, and introduced to the *Senatus Academicus* by the college bailie, and is henceforth recognized as a member of the university. The misunderstanding which existed between the crown and the patrons at the time of the foundation of this professorship, together with the gross ignorance of the agents of government respecting the constitution of the college, has ever since rendered the terms of the commission to be in direct opposition to what had been established from its foundation. He is expressly styled "second professor of divinity and ecclesiastical history." Now, the principal is *ex officio primarius*; and he whose business it is to teach divinity, must, in a consistency with common sense, be considered a second professor, independently of his office having existed for more than a century before the other. So that the professor of ecclesiastical history, if the constitution of the university is to be regarded, is only *third* professor of divinity. The mistake at first arose from the ignorance of the person who first drew out the commission; and is of itself not a matter of much consequence.

Dr Cumming gave lectures upon *Jo. Alphonsi*

Turretini Compendium Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ. He was a man of very extensive critical knowledge, and had good talents for business. He consequently took an active part in the business of the assembly, of which he was three times moderator. As a preacher, he is represented as being equalled by few "in an easy, fluent, neat, and elegant style." He resigned the chair, on the 18th June 1762, in favour of his son Robert, who never, as far as I know, delivered any lectures.

CHAPTER XVII.

Dr Charles Alston, Professor of Botany and Materia Medica—Dr Robert Morison—Dr Patrick Blair—Mr Robert Smith, Professor of Midwifery—Mr Robert Hunter, of Greek—Mr George Stewart, of Humanity—Dr John Stewart, of Natural Philosophy—Mr William Cleghorn, of Moral Philosophy—Dr Francis Hutcheson.

Some notice has been already taken of Dr Charles Alston.* At what time he was appointed king's botanist for Scotland I do not know; but it must have been at an early period, and long before the 31st March 1738, when he was elected professor of medicine and botany in the university of Edinburgh. He obtained the appointment of being king's botanist through the Duke of Hamilton, who is heritable keeper of the Palace of Holyroodhouse, to which this garden was attached. The two offices were perfectly distinct from one another, and seem to have been both held by Mr Sutherland, upon whose

* *Vid.* p. 264.

death, it is more than probable, Dr Alston succeeded. The one was quite compatible with the other, the king's botanist being a sinecure. He was a native of Lanarkshire; and, at an early period of life, was patronized by the Duchess of Hamilton, who wished him to study the law, as the most likely means by which he could obtain an establishment in the world, and put it in her power to serve him. Her solicitations, however, were unavailing. Whether this proceeded from a rooted dislike to the profession of the law, is not known. He had probably secretly cherished an attachment to the study of medicine, which he had not the courage publicly to declare to her Grace. Be that as it may, he spent all his youth, and a very considerable share of the best part of his manhood, about Hamilton Palace. He was born in 1683; and it was not till 1716 that he gave himself up entirely to the study of botany and medicine. Having taken his determination, he set out for Leyden, at the comparatively advanced age of thirty-three; and prosecuted his studies with the most persevering industry. Whilst attending the lectures of the illustrious Boerhaave, he had the good fortune to meet at the same university several of his countrymen, eagerly engaged in the same pursuits, and who afterwards made a most distinguished figure as practitioners and professors of medicine in their native country. These young men had caught the spirit of their master; and vied with each other in zealously prosecuting the study of medicine. Though Mr

Alston was considerably older than any of them, yet the intimacy which he formed with young men of genius at that seminary, contributed much to extend his knowledge of physic; and the broad basis upon which this friendship was founded, became the source of the most pleasing recollections during the whole course of his life. Having taken his degree of doctor of physic, he returned to his native country, and commenced practising as a physician in Edinburgh. He appears to have cultivated botany long before he went to Leyden; but the prelections of Boerhaave rivetted more firmly his predilection for this elegant and delightful study. Notwithstanding of his residence abroad, he still retained his office of being king's botanist in Scotland; and, consequently, made it his study to procure as many seeds of rare plants as he possibly could. Botany was at this time more cultivated in Holland than in any other country of Europe. Indeed, medical science in general flourished in Holland; for there was no branch of medical study which the fostering care of Boerhaave did not improve. His public garden contained a store of plants unknown in this country; and though it must be confessed that, during the greater part of the time that Mr Sutherland was professor of botany, care was taken to extend the collection, and cultivate diligently such plants as could be obtained; yet, partly in consequence of his studies taking a totally different direction, but chiefly through the infirmities of old age, little attention had been paid to the botanical

gardens. The curators at Leyden shewed Dr Alston every indulgence, treated him in the most liberal manner, and supplied him with what they could spare, and he stood in need of.

Upon his arrival in Scotland, he was elated with the prospect of the great improvements which he should be enabled to introduce in the cultivation of plants, both considered as an elegant amusement, and as furnishing officinal plants which were employed in the *materia medica*. That he gave instructions at this time in botany in the king's garden at Holyroodhouse, in 1720, as is affirmed, seems to be very probable. But these botanical lessons had no connexion whatever with the university, for Mr Preston held the office of professor of botany for many years after that period; and I entertain little doubt that it was Preston who was the cause of so long time having elapsed before Dr Alston was appointed a professor in the university. Preston was now in extreme old age; had been long unable to give any lessons on botany, and the Edinburgh medical school still required the addition of lectures upon that subject, as well as on the *materia medica*, before it could be considered as in any degree complete. This had been long observed by the patrons; but, in consequence of the intervention of some obstacle or another, effectual means were never taken to correct it. At last, in 1738, " The council, considering that, were a professor of medicine and botany elected and installed in the city's college, it

would in a great measure contribute to the advancement of learning, as well as to the interest and benefit of the city; and that it is necessary to make choice of a person who is well qualified to discharge the duties of such; they, therefore, appoint Dr Charles Alston," &c. * This was in the month of March. He commenced his first course of botany in the subsequent May, and the *materia medica* in November; and, during the twenty-two years that he was a professor, regularly delivered two courses, one on each of these subjects, every year.

Dr Alston was exceedingly laborious in the discharge of his public duty as a professor; and discovered the greatest anxiety to afford to the students all the facilities in his power to aid them in their progress. The late celebrated Dr Fothergill, who had been his pupil, bears ample testimony to the assiduity of his old master; and describes in glowing language the benefit which those who attended him had the means of reaping,—his caution in speculation, and how laborious he was in experiment. †

As soon as he was advanced to be a professor, he began to devise means by which he might render his lectures more interesting and useful to the students. For this purpose, in less than two years, he published an index of the plants, especially the officinal plants demonstrated to students in the Edinburgh medical

* Counc. Regist. *ap. ann.*

† Fothergill's Ess. on the Character of Dr Russell.

garden. This was evidently intended as a text-book; and, in order to be successfully taught, there is no science which more requires the assistance of one. The names of the plants are of foreign derivation, which, though no obstacle to some, yet, to the generality, present formidable difficulties. Such an index also aids the memory greatly; and its good effects are most sensibly felt at this day: But it must have been much more indispensible when Dr Alston published. The works of Linnæus were hardly known even to the learned; and his method and doctrines were strenuously opposed by almost all the philosophers who cultivated botany, and, as we shall find, by Dr Alston among the rest. So that little or no methodical arrangement was regarded.

It is a singular circumstance, and ought to be mentioned to the honour of Scotland, that the first person who ever made the attempt to reduce botany to a science was Dr Robert Morison, a native of Aberdeen, and born in 1620. He was warmly attached to Charles I. and, as a royalist, had taken up arms in the cause. This rendered it expedient for him to leave his native country, and repair to Paris; where he distinguished himself so much by his natural knowledge, as to be recommended by M. Robins, the king's botanist, to the Duke of Orleans, and was appointed superintendant of the Duke's fine garden at Blois. Upon the death of his patron, he was, in 1660, advanced to be royal professor of botany; and, in 1669, botanical professor at Oxford,

where he died, in 1683. It was his labours that directed the attention of Ray and others, in England, so strongly to botany. The works of these eminent men were not neglected in Scotland. Sir Robert Sibbald and Mr. Sutherland, with some few associates, were, as we have shewn, indefatigable in the study of botany, and excellent practical gardeners. Dr Charles Preston, who succeeded them, was also very diligent in giving lessons on botany. It was in this school that Dr Alston himself received his education. There were other Scotsmen of the same standing with himself, and bred under the same master, who at that time possessed a great taste for botany, and afterwards distinguished themselves by their proficiency in the science. By far the most eminent of these was Dr Patrick Blair.

The history of this eminent philosopher has been most unaccountably neglected in Scotland. The earliest allusion that I have been able to discover in regard to him is an advertisement in the Edinburgh Gazette, for the 29th September 1701, in which he proposes to publish a "*Manuductio ad Anatomiam*, or a plain and easy method of dissecting, preparing, or preserving all the parts of the body of man, either for public demonstration, or the satisfaction of private curiosity." He designates himself surgeon-apothecary in Dundee; and subjoins, that the work is now ready for the press, which, upon suitable encouragement, will shortly be published; and that he had circulated printed proposals. I have not been able to ascertain whether that work was ever

published. The first thing that brought him into notice, and very early rendered his name familiar to the philosophers of Europe, was his dissection of a female elephant, that died near Dundee, in 1706, and account of which he sent to the Royal Society of London; and, to this day, it contains almost the only accurate anatomy of this singular animal which we as yet possess. Through the patronage of Sir Hans Sloane and Dr Arbuthnot he appears to have been induced to repair to London, and attempt to get into practice there. He afterwards removed to Boston, in Lincolnshire, where he renewed his botanical studies, and contributed considerably to the advancement of the science in Great Britain. His *Pharmaco-Botanologia* was published at London in 1723. We are informed, in the preface, that this work had received the approbation of Dr Charles Preston, his old master, and professor of botany at Edinburgh; and that this encouraged him to present it to Sir Hans Sloane, who also approved of it; but when he offered it to the booksellers, their "stomachs," he informs us, "were so glutted with Mr Ray's botanical Latin writings, that nothing on that subject, and in that language, would go down with them." It was therefore published in English in Decads. How far he proceeded seems not to be ascertained.* In the subsequent year, he published

* Haller's words are:—"Meum exemplar in Hedera desinit, et una pauciorem partem habet Seguier, ut credam ibi opus abruptum fuisse."—Boerh. Meth. Stud. p. 227.

his *Index Materiæ Medicæ*, which resembles Dr Alston's treatise much more than any other on the subject that had then been printed in this country. In order to promote the study of botany among the students at Edinburgh, Dr Alston printed, for their use, in 1753, an introduction to it, which he entitled, *Tyrocinium Botanicum Edinburgense*.

Of all the subjects to which the attention of philosophers has been directed, physiology has made the least progress. That a striking analogy exists between animal and vegetable nature, is so obvious, as to have been remarked by mankind from the earliest ages. All animals are divided into two sexes. It is, therefore, wonderful, that no attempt seems to have been made by the ancients to transfer similar distinctions to plants. Though they speak frequently of male and female trees, yet it is in a very vague and general manner. They had no knowledge of the male and female organs of plants. The first person who suggested the real use of the sexual organs was Sir Thomas Millington, Savilian professor at Oxford. The idea was cherished by Grew, Ray, Blair, and others; and it forms the foundation of the Linnæan system. Among the early opponents of this system was Dr Alston; and, in doing so, he acted a similar part with the greater number of the most eminent botanists in Europe. It is sufficient to mention Sir Hans Sloane and Dillenius. Linnæus first published his work in 1736; and these persons were too old, and too much confirmed in their early

prejudices, to listen calmly to one, whose writings, as they conceived, confounded the whole botanic system. Dr Alston's paper is entitled "of the Sexes of Plants;" and forms the ninth article of the first volume of the Physical and Literary Essays, which was published at Edinburgh in 1751. His objections are by no means captious; yet, though he does not expressly profess it, there can be little doubt that it was designed as an indirect thrust at the novel system of the great Swedish naturalist. As this system is now allowed to be placed upon the most solid foundation, it is unnecessary to give an account of Dr Alston's reasoning. He contributed several papers also to the Medical Essays, the most important of which is that on opium; and, in a separate pamphlet, he entered at great length into the properties of quick-lime and lime-water, which shall be noticed afterwards.

Dr Alston died upon the 22d November 1760, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

The nature of Mr Gibson's appointment to be city professor of midwifery, and the circumstances which accompanied it, have been mentioned already. Upon his death, in 1739, he was succeeded, on the 14th December of the same year, by Mr Robert Smith; but the commission he received was more ample than that of his predecessor, being thereby constituted a member of the *Senatus Academicus*. He was consequently the first who was chosen "professor of midwifery in this city's college, with

power to him to profess and teach the said art in the said college, and within the city, liberties, and privileges thereof, on as large an extent as it is taught in any city or place where this profession is instituted, or as the said Joseph Gibson did profess and teach the same, and with the same privileges and immunities which the other professors in the said college do enjoy, or that are known to appertain to a professor of midwifery in any other well regulated city or place."* The other clauses of the commission are exactly the same with Mr Gibson's, in regard to instructing midwives, &c. Mr Smith held this professorship about seventeen years.

Mr Colin Drummond, professor of Greek, of whom we have taken notice more than once, being unable to undergo the fatigue of teaching, the patrons appointed Mr Robert Law (son of Mr William Law of Elvingston, who had taught the moral philosophy class for many years) as his assistant and successor, upon the 26th July 1738. The university, however, enjoyed the benefit of the labours of this excellent young man for a very short time. He only taught for three sessions, being cut off in the prime of life, by a rapid consumption, which set all medical aid at defiance. In consequence of this melancholy event, Mr Robert Hunter was preferred to the Greek chair on 9th December 1741. The character and abilities of this gentleman were well known to

* Counc. Regist. *ap. ann.*

the Town-council. The reason assigned for his election is, "because he has taught Greek privately, with great applause, for several years."* Being a student of divinity, or rather, if I mistake not, at this time a preacher of the gospel, he had privately assisted in their studies young gentlemen who attended the high-school or university, and thus supported himself during the term of his own college course. In process of time, upon a vacancy occurring in George Heriot's hospital, of which the magistrates and ministers of Edinburgh are the governors, he was appointed one of the teachers of that institution. The manner in which he acquitted himself in that situation, could not fail to be well known to the patrons; and, receiving their approbation, he was elected professor of the Greek language. He discharged the duties of this office with great credit for the long period of thirty-one years, when he felt it necessary to call in the aid of an assistant. This he did in December 1772. He was distinguished for bestowing the greatest pains and labour upon the students, and in taking particular care that they should be well grounded in the elements, the generality of young men who entered the first Greek class possessing no previous knowledge of the language. His acquaintance both with Greek and Latin was very accurate; and, in the course of his observations upon the authors which were read, he dis-

* Counc. Regist. *ap. ann.*

covered the most profound skill, and intimate familiarity with all the niceties of the language. These remarks were delivered in so condescending and agreeable a manner, that he was a great favourite with his pupils, and universally esteemed as a most useful professor.

Mr John Ker, the professor of humanity, died within a few days of Mr Law. There was at first every appearance of a very keen contest commencing between the two candidates for the chair. These were Mr Foulis and Mr George Stewart. I know very little of the history of either. The former was a relation of the Foulis's of Glasgow, in whose family there existed a great deal of talent; but whether this person had any share of the merit which is justly connected with various editions of the Greek and Roman classics that issued from their press, I cannot affirm with any certainty. There were several members of that family, who were not only excellent classical scholars, but also possessed an admirable taste in the fine arts, in painting, sculpture, and statuary. They even proposed to found a school in Scotland for the cultivation of the fine arts; and materially injured their private fortune by the attempt. Mr Stewart was designed for the church; but whether he ever took licence as a preacher I cannot affirm. His brother, Alexander, was, for a considerable number of years, one of the ministers of the West Church of Edinburgh.

When these gentlemen started as candidates, the

patrons, and those public bodies who have the right of presentation, publicly declared that he who should prove that he was best qualified should be preferred. The utmost regard was paid to the private testimonials which they both produced of moral character, and of their classical attainments; but the judges determined to form an opinion for themselves. It will be remembered, that the professor of humanity is chosen by deputies from the Lords of Session, the Faculty of Advocates, the Writers to the Signet, and the Town-council of Edinburgh. The Lords appointed, as their commissioners, Andrew Fletcher of Milton, Lord Justice-Clerk, and Sir Gilbert Elliot, Lord Minto; the Advocates, their Dean of Faculty, J. Graham, Esquire, who was afterwards Lord Easdale; the Writers to the Signet, A. M'Millan, Esquire, Depute Keeper of the Signet; and the Magistrates of Edinburgh, Bailie Sandilands and Deacon Boswell. A committee from the university and the clergy of the city are always invited to be present on such occasions, though they have no vote. Notwithstanding the keenness with which both candidates had carried on the canvass, when the electors and the judges had assembled in one of the apartments of the Advocates Library, to decide upon the business, the two candidates, who were in an anti-chamber, waiting to be called, agreed to transmit a message to the electors, stating, that each believed the other to be qualified; and that they were rather inclined to refer it to their own choice, with-

out putting them to any additional trouble. After some deliberation, this was agreed to; and the comparative trial did not proceed. The commissioners from the Lords of Session and the Town-council voted for Mr Stewart; the Dean of Faculty and Depute Keeper of the Signet for Mr Foulis; so that the former was declared duly elected. He accordingly entered upon the exercise of his office upon the 16th December 1741.

Mr Stewart is universally allowed to have been eminently skilled in the learned languages. Possessed of an ardent impetuous temper, whatever he conceived, he conceived strongly; and, in the course of his illustrations of the classics, his pupils represent him to have discovered great fire and animation, and to have taken a bold and striking view of any subject which came under his notice. His knowledge of Roman antiquities was accurate and extensive; and he omitted no opportunity of throwing light upon such difficult passages as occurred, by a reference to the manners and customs of that celebrated people. Not contented with giving a faithful translation of his author, and analyzing grammatically the lesson which was read, he entered thoroughly into the philosophy of the passage, if that seemed necessary; and strained every nerve to kindle in the minds of the youth the same passionate admiration of the writings of the classics which he himself possessed in so eminent a degree.

The complexion of his mind was pretty similar

to that of his son, the late Dr Gilbert Stewart, so well known in the literary world. He fortunately had none of his gross imprudence or irregularities, which brought his infatuated son to a premature grave, being cut off in the prime of life, when only forty-three years of age. Professor Stewart was always understood to have been long engaged in compiling a dictionary of the Latin language; and it is now many years since I recollect some of his most intimate friends giving out, that what prevented him from going to press, was a new edition of Ainsworth which had just been published. Be that as it may, the public have never been favoured with it; and, after a good deal of inquiry, I have not been able to learn in whose hands the manuscript now remains. He died at a house he had long possessed near to Musselburgh, upon the 18th June 1793, having been a member of the university of Edinburgh for fifty-two years.

Sir Robert Stewart had been desirous for some time to have his son joined with him in the professorship of natural philosophy. This was at last effected, upon the 1st September 1742. It was, however, attended with considerable difficulty. The patrons were unwilling that professorships should be considered as hereditary in any family; and had very properly resolved, that the only qualification to which they would pay any regard, should be the ability of the candidate to perform the duties of the office. The views of his son, John Stewart, had

been directed to medicine; and he either then was a doctor of physic, or was admitted to that degree a short time after, for we soon find him a fellow of the Edinburgh Royal College of Physicians, and practising physic in that city.

The most distant hint was never given, as far as I know, from which it could be inferred that the patrons entertained some secret suspicion that he was not properly qualified to teach natural philosophy. They determined, nevertheless, to proceed in the most regular and cautious manner. They appointed a committee to examine him in their own presence, and in that of the city ministers. The committee were satisfied; and, the *avisamentum* of the clergy being also taken, he was elected conjunct professor of natural philosophy with his father.

The Medical Society of Edinburgh, which began to hold their meetings in 1731, had published six volumes of their transactions, which were very favourably received by the public. Indeed, it is to this day considered as a standard work. It not only contributed to improve the mode of practice in surgery and medicine, but its publication was one of the chief causes of extending the fame of the university as an admirable medical school. In consequence of which, many foreigners repaired to Edinburgh; and British subjects, instead of going abroad, gave the preference to the schools of their native country.

The celebrated M'Laurin, whose ardour in the

prosecution of knowledge of every kind was never surpassed, proposed to Dr Monro, and some other of his colleagues in the university, who were the leading members in the Medical Society, that they should extend their plan; and, instead of confining it to medicine, that it should embrace every object of natural science, and also include every species of literary discussion, excepting what related to theology, morals, and politics.* This proposal was readily received. Many new members were incorporated into this new association, which assumed a new name, viz. that of *The Philosophical Society in Edinburgh.* This arrangement took place in 1739; and the first secretaries were Professor M'Laurin and Dr Plummer. The society commenced their labours with great spirit, continued their exertions for several years, and had collected as many papers as would have formed a volume, and were fit to be printed. The rebellion of 1745, however, breaking out soon after, and the death of Mr M'Laurin, in whose custody the papers were, interrupted the progress of the publication, as well as the regular meetings of the society. Mr M'Laurin's papers were transmitted to London upon his decease; and, among the rest, the transactions of the Philosophical Society. A great number of these were lost; and it was with considerable difficulty that any of them were recovered.

* Preface to Physical and Literary Essays.

Dr Stewart appears to have been an early member of this society, and contributed one paper, which he entitled, "Some Remarks on the Laws of Motion, and the Inertia of Matter." That extraordinary man, Lord Kames, had joined these philosophers; and though his studies in general had little relation to physical science, yet the natural activity of his mind led him to speculate upon the laws of motion, and present his thoughts to the society. The discussion is altogether metaphysical; and is much more ingenious than solid. It was the means, however, of calling the attention of several of the members to the subject, and, among the rest, Dr Stewart. His paper contains a very good specimen of his abilities, and acquaintance with the writings of others upon that question; but it would be improper to attempt an abridgment of it in this place. He died upon the 12th May 1759.

We formerly mentioned, that Dr Pringle transmitted to the patrons a letter, containing the resignation of his office as professor of moral philosophy, upon 27th March 1745. The class had been taught for three years by Mr William Cleghorn, A. M. who, though only twenty-five years of age when he first undertook the task, had acquitted himself much to the satisfaction of all parties. The patrons immediately resolved, that as the session was drawing to a close, he should continue to teach the class, "that the students may have no cause for complaint; and

that, in the meantime, the council may have under their consideration the supplying the said office with an able and well qualified person."* How they did not at this time offer it to Mr Cleghorn, I know not: for, upon 3d of April, a presentation to the professorship was transmitted to the celebrated Dr Francis Hutcheson of Glasgow. This eminent philosopher was at that time in the zenith of his reputation. The popularity and eloquence of his lectures had contributed materially to the prosperity of Glasgow as a seminary of education; and not only his colleagues, but the city itself, considered him as its chief ornament. His father was a dissenting presbyterian clergyman in the north of Ireland; and he was born upon the 8th August 1694. Being early destined for a clergyman, he was sent to the university of Glasgow. † He afterwards obtained a church in Dublin; and opened a private academy, for the purpose of instructing young gentlemen in the languages and philosophy. While engaged in this la-

* Counc. Regist. *ap. an.*

† *Vid.* Dr Leechman's Life of Dr Hutcheson, prefixed to the System of Moral Philosophy. This was a posthumous work. It was published by his son, a doctor of physic, in two volumes 4to, in 1755. Dr Hutcheson, in his lifetime, had published in Latin a short introduction to moral philosophy, containing the elements of ethics and the law of nature. He translated this work himself into English; and it also was published a very short time after his death.

bonous occupation, he published his Inquiry into the Nature of Beauty, which soon attracted the attention of the public. Upon the death of the excellent Mr Gershom Carmichael, in 1729, the College of Glasgow, who were well aware of his talents and acquirements, preferred their old *Alumnus* to the vacant chair.

When Dr Hutcheson received official information of his being elected professor of moral philosophy in the university of Edinburgh, he returned an immediate answer to the patrons, declining in the most polite manner the acceptance of their very flattering offer. He informed them, that he had heard, previously to the receipt of their letter, what were the intentions of his wellwishers in Edinburgh; but that, from the first, his determination had been taken to remain where he was. He mentioned also, that, at his time of life, he considered the measure which was proposed as altogether unadviseable. Dr Hutcheson was not an old man when he wrote this letter; he was only in his fifty-first year; but he felt the infirmities of premature old age even then, and died in 1747.

Though the patrons had lost no time in electing Dr Hutcheson, as being probably what had been resolved on for several years, they were not precipitate in appointing another. Mr Cleghorn, who had so ably performed the duties of the class, had undoubtedly the best title to the succession; and, after mature deliberation, he was chosen upon the 5th

June 1745.* He was the son of Mr Hugh Cleghorn, merchant in Edinburgh; and was employed by Dr Pringle, with the concurrence of the Town-council, to teach his class. He was of a very delicate constitution. His death happened at Edinburgh, upon the 23d August 1754, in the thirty-sixth year of his age, after a tedious illness. † Two days before his death, Mr Cleghorn sent the following letter to the Lord Provost.

"*Edinburgh, 21st August* 1754.

"My Lord,—As I am in such a declining state of health, that I have no prospect of being ever again capable to discharge the duty of my office in the university, I take this way of signifying to your Lordship, and the Honourable Magistrates and Town-council, that I do simply and absolutely resign into your and their hands my said office; and humbly thanking your Lordship, and my other patrons, for the indulgence and tenderness you have shewn me during my long indisposition.‡"

He died before the Lord Provost had an opportunity of presenting it to the council.

* It was on this occasion that the celebrated David Hume solicited the chair of moral philosophy; but the philosophical theories he had already published constituted a complete barrier to his success.

† Scots Mag. vol. xvi. p. 404.

‡ Counc. Regist.

He never appears to have published any thing; but his colleagues and contemporaries considered him as a young man of the most promising talents; and were not slow in declaring it as their opinion, that, by his decease, the university had sustained a loss which would not soon be repaired.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Rebellion 1745—Dr Robert Whytt—Mr Matthew Stewart—Mr William Dawson—Dr James Robertson—Dr Hamilton.

THE rebellion of 1745 interrupted for some time the literary business of the country, as well as almost every other species of employment, excepting politics and a civil war. The subsequent year was rather worse; because, though the rebels were totally defeated at Culloden, great numbers of the nobility and gentry were attainted, lists of their names published, and rewards offered for their apprehension.* In a state of such distraction, it is not to be wondered at if the studies of the youth sustained a considerable interruption. When internal quiet was restored, the patrons directed their attention to the university; and as Dr Innes had in the meantime died, they proceeded to the election of a successor. The person upon whom their choice fell was Dr

* In the course of this unhappy rebellion, there were 218 sentenced, 76 executed, and 142 reprieved.—Scots Mag. 1747. p. 651.

Robert Whytt. This gentleman had taught for some time in the college, and supplied the place of Dr Innes as professor of the institutes of medicine; "and had given universal content to all the gentlemen learned in that science."* He was elected to be professor both of the theory and practice of medicine, upon the 26th August 1747.

Dr Whytt was born at Edinburgh, upon the 6th September 1714, and was the son of Robert Whytt, Esquire, of Bennochy, advocate. He was a posthumous child, his father having died six months before he was born. He was unfortunate also in losing his mother at a very tender age; for she died before he was seven years old. I am not informed who had the charge of his education; but he was sent to the university of St Andrews, and went through the regular course of study there. He made early proficiency at that seminary, and distinguished himself among his fellow students, by his ardour and application to study. Having taken his degree of master of arts, he repaired to Edinburgh, when about sixteen years of age. Having chosen medicine as his profession, he entered himself a student under Mr Monro; and, in due time, attended the prelections of the other medical professors. Being possessed of a private fortune, and enthusiastically attached to medical science, he determined to avail himself of the advantages that were to be derived from attend-

* Counc. Regist.

ing the London schools of medicine, and some of those abroad, before he commenced practising as a physician.

Through the recommendation of Monro he became a pupil of Cheselden, whose reputation was now so firmly established, as to be universally allowed to be at the head of his profession as a surgeon, and very eminent as a lecturer on anatomy. He diligently attended the London hospitals; made himself master of the modes of practice in those excellent seminaries of instruction; and, in the subsequent autumn, set out for Paris, which was at that time the great school for surgery. Here he not only attended the public lectures and private dissections of the celebrated Winslow, but also the lectures given in *L'Ecole des Medecins*, and was present at the visits of the physicians and surgeons of *La Charité* and *L'Hotel Dieu*. He had determined to spend the ensuing winter in Holland; and therefore directed his course to Leyden, the celebrity of whose professors was spread over all Europe. The great Albinus was then in the prime of life, and ardently pursuing that illustrious career, which has conferred upon him the well-earned title of being the prince of anatomists. Boerhaave was now advanced in years, crowned with riches and honours, but retained his faculties unimpaired. He studied under these great masters; and took his degree of doctor of physic at Rheims, in 1736. Upon returning to his native country, his *Alma Mater*, the university of St An-

drews, without any application on his part, conferred upon him the same medical honour. In 1737, he was admitted a licentiate of the Edinburgh Royal College of Physicians; and began to practise at Edinburgh immediately. He was very early introduced into an extensive practice; for which he was no doubt considerably indebted to his own family connexions, and being known to be in very easy circumstances; but his own merit, and the acknowledged superiority of his talents and acquirements, were what principally conduced to bring him into notice.

Before Dr Whytt was advanced to be a professor, he published, in the Medical Essays, a paper on the virtues of lime water in the cure of the stone. This was in 1743. The attention of the public had been strongly directed to cures for the stone. Mrs Joanna Stephens was the vender of a medicine, which, when used according to her prescriptions, laid claim to cure all *calculous* complaints. Multitudes either actually received, or imagined they received, great benefit by following her regimen. The medicine became very popular; but as it was expensive, consequently beyond the reach of the poor, and of acknowledged reputation, government generously offered to give her a remuneration if she would publish the secret, provided that certain trustees, who were mentioned, should give it as their opinion that it was really valuable. They returned a favourable report; and, accordingly, in 1739, the proprietor of the

medicine received, by act of parliament, five thousand pounds sterling for making a proper discovery of the mode of preparing and administering the medicine. This was accordingly published in the London Gazette for the 19th June of the same year. It produced the effect of directing the attention of all the medical men in Europe towards observing its efficacy in their own practice. It was a very clumsy preparation; and a mere smattering of chemical affinity was sufficient to convince any one that the greater number of the substances employed in the preparation were totally useless.*

Dr Whytt, among others, was fully persuaded of this; and he annexed its chief value (for he readily allowed it to possess some value) to the calcareous earth it contained. He, therefore, proposed lime-water as a substitute; and the propriety of his proposal he illustrates by many facts and reasonings, in a pretty long essay upon the subject. This publication contributed in a high degree to spread his fame. It went through three editions; and the regimen was long prescribed to patients labouring under that most distressing disease. It was the subject of some little dispute between Dr Alston and him, which was not carried to any improper length, though the former laid claim to priority in the discovery. Mr

* Sir Robert Walpole, as well as his brother Horace Walpole, was troubled with the stone. This was what brought Stephen's medicine into great notice.

Horace Walpole, and some other public characters, wrote accounts of their own case, and gave liberty to Dr Whytt to make them public. His practice, in employing lime-water as a lithontriptic, was very bold. He not only prescribed it to be drunk liberally, and deduced rules for practice from the supposed effects it produced, but he subjected human *calculi* to a rigid examination, by exposing them to be acted upon by the urine of those who were in the habit of drinking lime-water. He even caused lime-water to be injected into the bladder of persons who were troubled with gravelish complaints; from all of which he affirmed that its great use was clearly demonstrated. But whatever good effects his favourite medicine may be allowed to produce, its *modus operandi*, as explained by him, has been long ago exploded, as well as the humoral pathology which it involves.

Dr Whytt's greatest work, and that upon which his character as a physiologist and a man of science chiefly depends, is his "Essay on the Vital and other Involuntary Motions of Animals." There is no science that has been more perplexed, or in regard to which ingenious philosophers have formed so many theories, as physiology. It has for its object the properties and functions of living animals. To explain these has exercised the ingenuity of mankind ever since they began to speculate upon human nature. All the sciences, both physical and metaphysical, have been laid under contribution;

and yet it is astonishing how little real progress has been made. The truth is, that it appears to be a subject which the limited faculties of man are totally incapable of explaining. This, however, has not prevented speculative philosophers from inventing theories, by which the difficulties attending the investigation of the animal functions may not only be removed, but the causes and manner in which these are produced are proposed to be explained. Aristotle and others had recourse to *occult qualities and faculties;* and they found multitudes who acquiesced in solutions which they gave. The now exploded doctrines of the older chemists were formerly considered as affording satisfactory explanations of difficulties which were very obvious, and maintained their popularity, till they were compelled to give way to the mechanical philosophy of Newton; whilst it again was succeeded by the adoption of a vital principle, which was triumphantly exhibited as capable of explaining all the phenomena of life. Succeeding philosophers, objecting to this theory, adopted something which they named *irritability;* and it also has found many advocates.

Dr Whytt adopted the theory of Stahl, who ascribed all the vital functions to the influence which the soul exercised over the body. Disease, as well as health, were equally produced by this active principle. According to Stahl, the rational soul formed and directed the structure of the *fœtus in utero*,—it never

ceased to govern its own body,—it excited the circulation of the fluids, to prevent putrefaction,—and fevers, to correct the thickness of the blood,—and, in general, to produce proper motions, in order to obviate the causes of diseases, although, on account of habit, it was not conscious of it. This theory, which consists of a mere tissue of gratuitous assumptions, was long popular in Germany, where it was invented; was favourably received in Great Britain by physicians of considerable note, some of whom ascribed even sleep to an act of volition of the soul; was patronized in France by such men as *Sauvages*, and had its abettors in Holland also.

The leading doctrines of this hypothesis of Stahl were defended in Scotland by Dr Porterfield and Dr Thomas Simson, before Dr Whytt published on the subject. They had, however, only touched upon it incidentally; whereas he entered upon a formal investigation, and studied to confirm the theory by very copious illustrations. He does not adopt the whole of Stahl's system; for he observes, "It is true that Stahl, by extending the influence of the soul, as a rational agent over the body, a great deal too far, has been the occasion why, for many years, it has been considered rather as a subject of ridicule, than deserving a serious answer;" and yet he states the proposition which he defends to be, "That the vital motions of animals are directly owing to the immediate agency of the mind, or sentient princi-

ple."* I must confess that these two paragraphs appear to me to be altogether irreconcileable.

The work, upon its first publication, produced a great sensation in the medical world. Many affirmed that they were convinced by his reasonings of the truth of his theory. The ingenuity and ability of the author were admitted on all hands; but it met with some very formidable opponents, of whom by far the most candid and able was the celebrated Haller. His great physiological work was not begun to be published till 1757; but he had already performed an immense number of experiments on different animals, which were given to the world in 1725, in the second volume of the Gottingen Transactions. So that both Haller and Whytt were at the same time busily engaged in similar physiological inquiries. The literary journals published in Great Britain had bestowed great praise on Whytt as an acute philosopher, and had analysed his book with an evident partiality to the theory he had adopted; but it was treated with less ceremony on the continent. George II. had founded the university of Gottingen in 1734; and, in 1737, had procured some of the most illustrious professors in Europe to become professors in it. A Royal Society was established there, of which Haller was first president, and the celebrated Michaelis first secretary. After two volumes of their Transactions were published, it was proposed that

* Vital. Mot. p. 141.

the society should engage in another work, which should contain an account of such literary or scientific works as might make their appearance from time to time. They entitled it *Relationes de Novis Libris*, and it was to be published quarterly. In the third number, a review of Dr Whytt's work appeared written by Haller himself.

Haller praised the work;* but accuses the author of want of candour, and of having too much imitated the asperity of the Stahlian school; places his own experiments in opposition to Whytt's; points out the difficulty of proceeding by experiments; shews that many of his postulates cannot be granted, not being consistent with fact; and that the author is much better prepared to criticise the theories of others, than to substitute what is less objectionable in their stead. Whytt's system had made no provision by which the motion of animal fibre could be accounted for, without supposing the soul to be present in it, which is justly treated as grossly absurd.†

This was only the commencement of the physio-

* His words are,—"Etiamsi liber iste neque mole magnus est, neque raritate ea, quæ a privatis bibliothecis eum jubeat exsulare, non tamen illaudatum dimittere visum est, quod nihil hactenus accuratius, aut speciosius pro ea secta dictum sit, quæ ab anima omnes in corpore humano motus derivat," &c.—Relat. Fasc. 3. p. 155.

† Dr Porterfield, though a pupil of the Stahlian school, afterwards treated this theory after a similar manner.—Porter. on the Eye, vol. i. p. 367, &c.

logical controversies which were carried on between these two great men. It would certainly be inaccurate to affirm that either of the parties manifested great violence. But it would be equally uncandid not to confess, that though both possessed too much good sense, as well as moral principle, to allow a difference of opinion upon philosophical subjects to degenerate into personal invective, yet each was so tenacious of his own theories, as incidentally to make it appear that he felt the force of the criticisms of the other. This, indeed, was more discernible in their controversies respecting sensibility and irritability. But we must refer to the treatises themselves; because, how interesting soever the subjects may be, it would lead to discussions very foreign to our purpose. It may, however, be here observed, with propriety, that these two very eminent philosophers possessed a very different constitution of mind; neither were their professional studies similar. The genius of Haller was perhaps more universal than that of any literary man of the last century; his studies very miscellaneous; and his reading prodigious upon almost every subject: But his talents for systematic arrangement were perhaps inferior to many of his other great qualities. As an anatomist, he was profound; and had exercised himself more in anatomical dissections than any other man that ever lived. Besides dissecting immense numbers of animals of all descriptions, he had dissected above six hundred human bodies, which seems to be almost

incredible; and had acquired a store of knowledge which was scarcely ever surpassed. Dr Whytt was a man of general literature; and had studied the history of medical science, and its collateral branches, with great care and success; and was well acquainted with whatever was known in physic in his day. In anatomy, he was not nearly equal to Haller. This gave the latter an advantage of which he made great use. Whytt was Haller's superior, however, in metaphysical acuteness, in the art of marshalling an argument, and setting off his knowledge to the best advantage. His invention was fertile; and whilst, in many parts of his works, he discovers the greatest ingenuity in his reasoning; and the most dexterous art in avoiding the force of an argument, yet it is not difficult to perceive that his ingenuity often misled him. The department of medicine, too, assigned to him in the university, which was teaching the theory or institutes of that science, naturally led him to speculate, in the manner he has employed in his works, much more freely than it is probable he would otherwise have done. He was naturally of a bold enterprizing turn of mind, and was extremely interesting as a public lecturer. His character as a medical philosopher stood much higher on the continent than it did in his native country. His relations and friends have ascribed this to Dr Cullen (with what justice I know not), whom they have represented as wishing to throw Dr Whytt in the shade. I do not recollect at this moment of Cullen

having mentioned him once in his works. One very favourable opportunity he certainly omitted. When remarking upon the theory of the vital functions by Stahl, he expressly names Poterfield and Simson in the preface to his "First Lines," but does not make the most distant allusion to Dr Whytt. These philosophers were mere subalterns, if I may use such an expression, in the defence of this theory; and only incidentally, and in a very general way, expressed their opinions concerning it. But the great tendency of almost the whole of Dr Whytt's writings was to confirm the hypotheses of Stahl; and he unquestionably discovered, as its defender, superior philosophical acuteness and reach of thought, as well as good writing, upon a very difficult subject, to any of his predecessors.

After the publication of his great work, honours accumulated upon him very fast. Upon the 16th April 1752, he was elected a member of the Royal Society, principally through the recommendation of Sir John Pringle. In a short time after, he entered into a correspondence with Dr Pringle, respecting the case of Mr Walpole, which, as has been mentioned, he published. In 1761, he was made first physician to his Majesty, an office which was created for him. In 1764, he was unanimously elected president of the Royal College of Physicians.

He had previously to this been associated with Dr Monro and Dr Cullen as a clinical lecturer in the Royal Infirmary. Perhaps no hospital was ever so

appointed; and it would be very difficult to determine to which of the three the superiority in that capacity ought to be ascribed. In 1762, he gave the most unequivocal proof of his candour in regard to his judgment respecting medical theory; for he adopted that of the celebrated Gaubius, and new-modelled his lectures accordingly. This eminent professor died upon the 15th of April 1766, in the fifty-second year of his age.

Mr M'Laurin's reputation as mathematical professor stood so deservedly high, and he had excited such an interest in the minds of the students for the prosecution of the study of the mathematics, that, upon his decease, the patrons were determined to procure if possible a successor worthy of him. Several persons of acknowledged eminence as mathematicians became candidates. The Town-council, who were well apprized of the abilities of Mr Stirling, who then had the charge of the lead-mines at Leadhills, offered it to him, apparently without having ever consulted him. This however he declined. The Reverend Matthew Stewart was known among his friends to be an excellent mathematician; and having published his *General Theorems* in the end of 1746, the year in which Mr M'Laurin died, he obtained a decided superiority over all his competitors. He was accordingly inducted to the office upon the 21st October 1747.

This extraordinary geometrician was the son of the Reverend Dugald Stewart, minister of Rothsay,

in the Isle of Bute, and was born at that place in the year 1717. His father had very early destined him for the church, and conducted his education accordingly. After being initiated into a knowledge of the learned languages at the grammar school, he was sent to the university of Glasgow, and was entered a student in 1734. Here he applied with uncommon diligence to his studies, and was very early distinguished by those great patrons of young men of application and talents, Doctors Hutcheson and Simson. His strong partiality for the mathematics did not immediately discover itself; but, after having been for some time the pupil of Dr Simson, his genius for those kind of studies began to develope itself; and he thus secured the patronage and particular friendship of his master. Whilst going through his college course of philosophy and theology, he never relaxed his diligence in cultivating the mathematics; and formed his taste in that interesting and extensive science upon the model of Dr Simson. In 1741, he removed from Glasgow, repaired to Edinburgh, and entered himself a student of divinity, which was then taught by Professor Goldie. Dr Simson had been careful to furnish him with a letter of introduction to Mr M'Laurin, who was always ready to seize every opportunity of cherishing the seeds of genius. M'Laurin was at this time in the very height of his reputation; and, as we have seen, not only gave lectures upon the mathematics, but also took great pains in explain-

ing the Newtonian philosophy. Stewart and Mac-Laurin were congenial spirits; the latter, therefore, took great pleasure in encouraging his young acquaintance to prosecute the study to which he was so much attached, and in whose knowledge he had already made so great progress. Mr Stewart having attended the lectures on theology for the prescribed period, was licensed to preach the gospel, after undergoing the usual examinations; and it was not long before he was presented to the church of Roseneath, in the gift of the Duke of Argyle, who then directed Scotish affairs, and possessed more influence than any individual has ever done since. He was ordained minister of Roseneath upon the 9th May 1745.

In this sequestered situation, he discharged the duties of his ministerial office with assiduity; but he also prosecuted his mathematical studies with the most unremitting application. Upon repairing to Edinburgh, and being called to the mathematical chair, he had an opportunity of cultivating his favourite science with less interruption. Accordingly, from this period, till his health began to decline, he was engaged in the most intense study. Like his great master, Dr Simson, he was most enthusiastically attached to the ancient geometry, while he entertained too unfavourable an opinion of the modern analysis. The great bent of his studies was to apply the geometrical mode of investigation to subjects which were supposed to be capable of solution

only by the adoption of the algebraic *calculus*. It is the opinion of the most competent judges, that the address which he has discovered in those investigations has never been exceeded; and that his success in demonstrating some of the most difficult propositions in physical astronomy, has no parallel in the history of mathematical science.

In consequence of the declining state of his health, he felt it necessary, in 1772, to employ his son, the present celebrated Mr Dugald Stewart, as an assistant; who, though then so very young a man, that he could not be appointed successor, having not arrived at the legal age, taught his father's class with great ability. Dr Stewart never resumed the labour of teaching; but spent the greatest part of his time at his country-seat in Ayrshire. He died upon the 23d January 1785, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

Mr William Dawson, the professor of oriental languages, had, through bad health, been incapable of teaching for several years. The patrons had been anxious to procure a fit person to do the duties of that office; but no one had offered himself as a candidate. At last, Mr James Robertson, who had studied those languages on the continent, brought with him such recommendations as excited great interest among the clergy of the city and the Town-council. This chair had been by far more unfortunate than any other in the college in regard to professors. The truth is, that, from the time of the revolution, hardly an efficient professor had held

that office excepting Mr Goodale. Dr Crauford united it with the class of chemistry, and only considered it in a secondary point of view; and Mr Dawson, it appears, had not taught for a long time. The chief causes of this negligence arose from the students being under no necessity of attending it, and no fees being demanded by the professor from such as did. The church had not defined with precision the classes which candidates for licence must have attended before their application can be received; neither did the professor of divinity require a certificate from the student of his having studied Hebrew under a professor established by law. The consequences naturally were, that both professors and students neglected the study of oriental literature; and it is only of late years that any considerable degree of attention began to be paid to it in this country.

When the patrons proposed an assistant to Mr Dawson, he was extremely disinclined to accept of one. He dreaded that they proposed to reduce his salary, which was all that he had to depend upon for subsistence, and actually presented a remonstrance against the plan; and, infirm as he was, spoke of resuming the duty of the class. This appeared to be the height of folly to every one excepting to himself. After several consultations, it was at last agreed upon that Mr Dawson should enjoy the full salary during his lifetime; that the students should pay

fees to Mr Robertson, who should undertake to perform the duty of professor, and both be elected conjunctly to the office.

Mr Robertson's recommendations were so ample, that not only the patrons, but the clergy, and the public in general, took much interest in his being appointed. Where the place of his birth or of his education was, I am not informed; but he had studied at Leyden for some years. He produced "a recommendation from Joannes Jacobus Schultens, the celebrated professor of oriental languages in that university, which represented the great progress he had made in the knowledge of Hebrew and Arabic when attending the lectures given by his father and himself, joint professors in Leyden; and, in other respects, giving him a very great character, as deserving the public encouragement for his good qualities and abilities to teach in the Hebrew and Arabic."* The testimony of Schultens was certainly valuable in every respect; for he was universally allowed to be one of the first, if not the very first oriental scholar at that time in Europe.

Mr Robertson came by the way of England, when he returned to his native country. The study of oriental literature was beginning to revive; and at Oxford, in particular, some members of the university had directed their attention to these kind

* Counc. Regist.

of studies, in consequence of the exertions of Mr Hunt, *regius* professor of Hebrew. Mr Robertson repaired thither; but with what design I cannot specify exactly. It might have been with the design to teach the oriental languages in that celebrated seminary; but I rather think not, because his mode of reading Hebrew was quite different from what was then popular at Oxford. The Schultens were warm admirers of the method of reading by the vowel points, and had exhausted all their learning and talents in its defence. Robertson had drunk deep into their favourite system, and through life stood boldly forward as its avowed advocate. Notwithstanding this difference of opinion upon so leading a doctrine as that of the Hebrew punctuation, Professor Hunt had the liberality to bear testimony to the proficiency he had made in eastern learning. His certificate was also of great weight in the estimation of the judges. Mr Hunt's liberal views deserve the highest commendation; and it may be observed, in passing, that no European seminary has produced a greater number of oriental scholars. The names of Lightfoot, Prideaux, Kennicot, Lowth, Jones, and White, are universally known. The students of divinity also preferred a petition to the patrons, "praying to have Mr Robertson appointed professor of Hebrew."*

There was still another circumstance which in-

* Counc. Regist. vol. lxix. p. 271.

duced the patrons speedily to form an agreement with Mr Robertson. "Some members of council, who formerly had this matter under consideration, signified that they were credibly informed that Mr Robertson had been offered very handsome encouragement from some private academies in England, if he would engage with them for a term of years; and, therefore, it was proper that the council, as soon as was possible, should come to some final resolution in this matter.* The academy which offered him these terms was that at Northampton, which had so long flourished under the celebrated Dr Doddridge.

The Town-council, considering all these circumstances, consulted the ministers of the city; and they unanimously agreed that Mr Robertson should be elected conjunct professor of Hebrew; that Mr Dawson should possess the full salary for life, and Mr Robertson the fees.

At the time that he began to teach Hebrew in the university of Edinburgh, there were various grammars of the language which were in considerable repute. That of Buxtorf, however, continued for more than a century to be by far the most popular. Both the elder and younger Buxtorfs were zealous defenders of the Masoretic punctuation, maintained that the points were equally inspired with the body of the text, and consequently deserved equal regard

* Counc. Regist. *ap. ann.*

They were professors of Hebrew at Berne, in Switzerland; and from their ardour, talents, and learning, and the numerous works connected with Hebrew literature that they published from time to time, they succeeded in rendering their theory very popular. It became, in course of time, to be associated with orthodoxy of religious sentiment; and this contributed, more than any thing else, to confirm the priesthood in their partiality to the vowel points. The doctrine of the Buxtorfs was almost universally acquiesced in by the universities of Holland; and both the grammar and lexicon were taught in their schools. Mr Robertson at first imitated their example; but, in the course of a few years, after much labour, and great application, he compiled a grammar of his own, which he published, and put into the hands of his students. It is considered, by those who have read it, as a very able and learned exposition of a system which, after the accumulated and indefatigable exertions of very learned men, is still involved in great difficulty. He also published a key to the Pentateuch, in which he discovers incredible industry, the most unaffected zeal for his favourite hypothesis, and an intimate acquaintance with the original.

Before he had published the second edition of his grammar, but after the greater part was printed, Dr Charles Wilson of St Andrews published a grammar without the vowel points, and held up the system to

contempt. This was the occasion of great grief to the good old man. Several years before his death, he was so infirm as to be totally incapable of attending to his public duty. The patrons, therefore, appointed Doctor, afterwards Principal Baird, as conjunct professor of Hebrew in 1792. And Dr Robertson died upon the 26th November 1795. He was an excellent Latin scholar, and had the ready command of a good Latin style. The benevolence of his heart, and the general amiableness of his character, endeared him to all.

Upon Principal Wishart's death, in 1754, he was succeeded by Dr John Goldie, professor of divinity; both of whom have been already mentioned. Mr Robert Hamilton, one of the ministers in Edinburgh, was elected to the theological chair. It was this gentleman's father who held the same office for so many years, and was afterwards advanced to be Principal. Mr Hamilton was born within the walls of the college; was initiated into the knowledge of the Latin language at the high-school; and, in due time, was entered a member of the university. He had been early destined for the church; and having performed the requisite exercises with approbation, he was licenced to preach the gospel by the presbytery of Edinburgh. Some time afterwards, he was presented to the church of Cramond, in the vicinity of Edinburgh. He then removed to Edinburgh, and was successively minister of Lady Yester's and

of the Old Grey Friars Church. The patrons adhered, in his case, to the resolution which they had formerly made, that, upon being elected professor of divinity, he should demit his office as one of the ministers of the city.

Dr Hamilton was a man of abilities. He was particularly well skilled in controversial theology; and took great pains to give an accurate view of those systems of divinity which had been most celebrated in the world. In doing this, he discovered great address, as well as candour; for he took no undue advantage, though he was careful to state his objections to the opinions which they defended, whenever he considered it necessary. He was also remarkably candid in his critical remarks upon the discourses which the students delivered in the divinity hall; and acquitted himself in that delicate department of his office, so as to gain the esteem even of those upon whose errors in doctrine, defects in composition, or mode of delivery, he had used the liberty to animadvert. He never took a very active part in the public management of the politics of the general assembly, though party spirit never ran higher during any period of the history of the Church of Scotland than it did in his time. Such was the respectability of his character, however, that he was twice raised to the dignity of being moderator of that venerable court, viz. in 1754 and 1760. When he began to feel that the general state of his health prevented

him from performing the duties of the class as he wished, and had been accustomed to do, he was desirous to have an assistant and successor. The patrons, therefore, elected the late Dr Andrew Hunter as conjunct professor of divinity, upon the 10th September 1779. Dr Hamilton, on that occasion, retired from public business; and he died on the 2d April 1787.

CHAPTER XIX.

Dr Alexander Monro, secundus—*Mr James Balfour, Professor of Moral Philosophy—Dr William Cullen.*

PROFESSOR ALEXANDER MONRO, *primus*, had taught anatomy in the university for the long period of thirty-five years, with the highest credit and increasing reputation. He was not far advanced in life when he proposed to the patrons to conjoin his youngest son, the present Dr Alexander Monro, senior, in the professorship of anatomy. Being only in the fifty-sixth year of his age, he was at this time in the full vigour of his faculties, and his general health good. He presented a petition to the Town-council, of which the following is a narrative.

"*Edinburgh*, 19*th June* 1754.

"Anent the petition and representation given in by Alexander Monro, professor of anatomy in the university of Edinburgh, setting forth, that the advantages of the schools of physic to Edinburgh are now generally known; for, besides the youth being well educated, ten thousand pounds sterling at

least are spent yearly by the students of that science, of whom there have been more than two hundred for many years past at Edinburgh. The foundation upon which the other branches of physic must be built is the anatomy, which, therefore, ought to be taught diligently by a master equal to the task. The present professor of anatomy is allowed to have been diligent, and to have contributed to the establishment of the medical schools, being the first who began to teach regularly, has continued thirty-five years to do so, and is willing to teach while he has strength. But his business requiring great labour, in the course of nature he must become unable to undergo it in no great number of years. In the prospect of this, and with a view of supporting the character of the schools of physic, the petitioner thought it his duty to represent to his honourable patrons, that a person fit for this office ought to be otherwise a good scholar, to be fully master of his business, by being early initiated in it, with elocution, or an easy way of conveying his knowledge to others: That the acquisition of so much knowledge of an extensive science as a teacher ought to have, cannot be obtained without some neglect of the other branches; and, therefore, a prospect of suitable advantage from that one branch must be given, to induce any person to bestow more time and pains on it than on others: That the professor must attribute his early success at least to the assurance he had, when very young, and a student, that he was soon to be put into his

present office, which made him apply more particularly to anatomy.

"That the professor's youngest son has appeared to his father, for some years past, to have the qualifications necessary for a teacher; and this winter he has given proof, by not only dissecting all the course for his father, but prelecting in most of it: That he is already equal to the office; for testimony of which, it is entreated that inquiry might be made at the numerous students who were present at his lectures and demonstrations. It was therefore hoped the Honourable Magistrates and Council would appoint the young man his father's colleague and successor in their university, as not only the surest way of having the labour of an old servant the longer continued, but likewise of having an absolutely necessary branch of physic well taught. That, if the desire of the petition was granted, the education of the young professor should be directed, with a view to that business, under the best masters in Europe. He should have all his father's papers, books, instruments, and preparations, with all the assistance his father can give in teaching, while he is fit for labour.'

Mr Monro was careful to take every precaution to secure the succession to his son. Certificates, of the same date, were produced in his favour from the professors of the Latin and Greek languages, of philo-

* Counc. Regist. *ap. annum*

sophy and mathematics, and of the professors of medicine in the said university; as also of a great number of the students of medicine who attended the demonstrations and lectures given by Mr Monro, junior, accompanied with a paper, attesting his age to be above twenty-one years.

The well known character and reputation of the elder Mr Monro was of itself quite sufficient to have procured this appointment for his son; but he was anxious to put into the hands of the patrons such testimonials as clearly ascertained both the diligence and proficiency of the candidate; and that however natural his partiality might be considered, yet his own opinion was confirmed by others, to whose judgment no similar objection could be made. It is unnecessary to add, that the prayer of the petition was immediately granted.

Notwithstanding that Dr Monro (I mean the second Monro) is still alive, I cannot resist the temptation of giving a very few hints respecting his history, seeing he has contributed as much, I may safely affirm, as any of his celebrated colleagues, to the fame of the university of Edinburgh as a medical school.

This venerable professor is at this present time (1816) in the eighty-third year of his age; and sixty-two years have now elapsed since he was inducted to the anatomical chair. From his infancy he had been devoted by his father to be an anatomist; and his whole education was conducted in such a man-

ner as to promote this particular end. His opportunities for improving under his father were very ample; and of these he took advantage, by the most unremitting assiduity and application to his studies. He took his degree at Edinburgh upon the 20th October 1755. The subject of his thesis was "*De Testibus et Semine in variis Animalibus.*" He shortly afterwards repaired to the continent, and studied under Meckel a considerable time at Berlin: he also went to Leyden. Upon his return to Scotland, he was admitted a licentiate of the Edinburgh Royal College of Physicians on the 2d May 1758, and elected a fellow on the 1st May 1759.

As a public lecturer, he was held in the highest estimation. The accuracy, plainness, and distinctness of his demonstrations, were much admired by the students. His enthusiasm in the cultivation of anatomical knowledge, as long as health permitted, was unabated; and, during the long term that he discharged the duties of a professor, he was constantly employed in exercising his mechanical genius in inventing and improving surgical instruments, in order that the surgeon might be able to perform with more address some of the more difficult and important operations in the practice of his art. After being long at the head of his profession in Edinburgh as a physician, he some years ago retired altogether from public business; and his son, the present Dr Alexander Monro, *tertius*, was conjoined with him

in the professorship, upon the 14th November 1798.

When Mr Cleghorn's premature death deprived the university of the benefit of his labours, the patrons, upon the 18th August 1754, made choice of Mr James Balfour of Pilrig, advocate, to be professor of moral philosophy. This gentleman, having a turn for letters, had been, in 1737, a candidate for the professorship of Scots law, but without success. He was returned, however, by the advocates on the list along with Mr Erskine, who was elected.

Mr Balfour's paternal estate is in the immediate vicinity of Edinburgh. He appears to have been educated at the schools and university of that city. He was admitted a member of the Faculty of Advocates; but never had much practice at the bar. Though a very ingenious, he was an extremely modest man; and possessed little relish for that bustling disposition which is so necessary to acquire any considerable practice as a lawyer. The course of his studies, too, had received a different direction, being principally occupied in speculations regarding morals and metaphysics. He was one of the earliest of Mr Hume's opponents. He attacked the sceptical philosophy in two treatises, the one of which is entitled "a Delineation of Morality," and the other "Philosophical Dissertations." The most honourable testimony to Mr Balfour's merit is borne by Mr Hume himself, in a letter which he addressed to the anonymous author. It begins thus: "When I write you,

I know not to whom I am addressing myself. I only know he is one who has done me a great deal of honour, and to whose civilities I am obliged." After some other compliments, he adds, "Your style is elegant, and full of agreeable imagery."*

Mr Balfour also subjected to a rigorous examination Lord Kames' Essays on Morality and Natural Religion, in a work printed at Edinburgh in 1768, which is entitled "*Philosophical Essays.*" These appear to have been originally delivered in the form of lectures to the class, and contain many acute observations; and stated in so agreeable, candid, and modest a manner, that it was impossible even for his opponents to find any fault in this respect.

He taught moral philosophy in the university for ten years; and, upon the death of Mr William Kirkpatrick, the professor of public law, or the law of nature and nations, he received a royal commission to succeed him in 1764. This professorship, which for many years has been a sinecure, he also demitted in 1779. He lived to extreme old age; and died at Pilrig on the 6th March 1795.

In the course of the year 1755, Dr Andrew Plummer, professor of chemistry, discovered great symptoms of general debility; and was at last, in spring 1756, seized with a palsy, which, from the very first,

* Kames's Life, vol. i. App. p. 47.—The date of this letter is Edinburgh, 15th March 1753; and, consequently, before Mr Balfour was a professor.

was considered as incurable by the faculty. As he was thereby rendered totally incapable of attending to the class, it was necessary to provide a proper person to undertake that duty. The patrons had elected Dr William Cullen conjunct professor with Dr Plummer, upon the 19th November 1755; but matters were so arranged, that Cullen should not commence teaching the class for twelve months, Dr Plummer having flattered himself that he might be able to give lectures for another session. This, however, he was prevented from accomplishing, for the reason which has been already assigned; and he died in the subsequent July.

Dr William Cullen, who long continued to be one of the chief ornaments of the university, the great supporter of its reputation as a school of medicine, and universally known throughout the medical world, was born in the parish of Hamilton, and county of Lanark, in the year 1709. His father followed the honourable profession of a farmer. Young Cullen "received the first part of his education under Mr Brisbane, at the grammar school of Hamilton. There are people here, (says the minister of the parish, in 1792) who remember him at school, and saw him in girl's clothes, acting the part of a shepherdess in a Latin pastoral."*

Though Cullen's funds were not very ample, he was sent to the university of Glasgow; and was at

* Statist. Acc. vol. ii. p. 201.

the same time apprenticed to a surgeon-apothecary in that city. It does not appear that he went through a regular course of education at this seminary. He had early chosen medicine as a profession; and the classes which he attended were probably regulated with a view to this as the chief object. I am able to give only a very imperfect account of the manner in which medicine was taught at the time when Cullen's residence was fixed in Glasgow. There were professors whose business it was to give lectures on medical science; but these were on a comparatively small scale, and bore no proportion to the opportunities now afforded to students of physic in that university. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the principal means of improvement which at this time he had within his power, were derived from observing his master's practice, and perusing such medical works as he could procure. It is now forgotten how old he was when he went to Glasgow, or how long he remained there. When a very young man, however, and thus imperfectly furnished with professional knowledge, he engaged himself as a surgeon to a vessel that traded between London and the West Indies; and actually performed several voyages in this capacity. He soon formed a dislike to this kind of employment; and determined to settle in his native country, and attempt to get into practice in the line of his profession. The place which he chose for making his first trial was the parish of Shotts, where it is not unlikely some of his own re-

lations resided. The country in general is barren; and the population consisted of farmers, who were far from being opulent, and the peasants whom they employed as labourers. His success here was very limited. He therefore resolved to try his fortunes in the town of Hamilton, where he had received his education. Here he settled for some time as a surgeon; and was chosen one of the magistrates of the burgh.* His affability, insinuating manners, and talents for conversation, very soon introduced him to a genteel society in this neighbourhood. The Duke of Hamilton happened to be taken suddenly ill while residing in that part of the country; and Cullen, as being the nearest professional man, was called. His prescriptions were afterwards approved of by Dr David Clerk, who had been brought from Edinburgh; so that his character was soon established in that neighbourhood. Conscious, however, of the imperfect manner in which he had studied physic, he felt a strong impulse to increase his stock of medical knowledge. He had by this time formed an acquaintance with Mr William Hunter, afterwards so celebrated as an anatomist and public lecturer in London. This gentleman had been originally intended for the church, and had attended some of the classes at the university of Glasgow with that view. Cullen's conversation, however, gave a different direction to his studies, and

* Statist. Acc. *ut sup.*

confirmed him in his scruples against conforming to the Church of Scotland. His father having given his consent, he resolved upon medicine as his profession; and immediately became an inmate in Cullen's family, where he remained for three years. These two eminent men entered into a copartnership, in which was this singular condition, that they should alternately be at liberty to study at Edinburgh or London as they chose. Dr Cullen, for whose behalf this arrangement was evidently chiefly intended, at least in the first instance, repaired to Edinburgh, and attended the medical classes for one session; and prosecuted his medical studies with his characteristic energy. Upon the return of autumn, Hunter preferred London; and receiving a letter of introduction from Mr Foulis, the printer, to Dr James Douglas, who lectured on anatomy in the capital, he soon distinguished himself by his extraordinary diligence and the neatness of his dissections. At the conclusion of the appointed term, he received encouragement to remain in London; but the principal obstacle in the way of gratifying what he so anxiously desired, was the contract he was under to fulfil his engagement with Cullen. Upon stating his case to his friend, Cullen frankly and generously relinquished his claim. Hunter, therefore, never returned to Scotland, excepting when he had determined to abandon the practice of a surgeon in London, and commence that of a physician, he found that his personal presence

in Glasgow would greatly facilitate his obtaining the degree of doctor of physic from that university.

It is by no means improbable that Cullen's own views began about this time to expand; and that he now felt the beginnings of those generous emotions which are the unquestionable accompaniments of genius, and so powerfully stimulate its possessor to aim at distinction in what profession soever or science he may select. I am led to infer this, from his taking his medical degree at Glasgow, upon the 14th September 1740. On the 13th November 1741, he married Ann Johnston, the daughter of a neighbouring clergyman.* He still continued at Hamilton; and his practice gradually increased. About this time, the Earl of Islay, afterwards Duke of Argyle, is represented to have been in that part of the country, and had occasion for some chemical apparatus, with which he could not be accommodated where he then was. It was immediately suggested that Dr Cullen was more likely to be in possession of what his Lordship wanted than any other person. He was accordingly invited to dinner; and succeeded so well in rendering himself agreeable by his conversation, as to make a deep impression upon the company. The Duke of Argyle was no ordinary judge of character. He had been educated at the university of Glasgow, had made a distinguished

* By this lady he had a numerous family;—Robert, Henry, Peter, Charles, Archibald, Elizabeth, Ann, Margaret, Robina. She died in summer 1786.

figure there, and had chosen the law as his profession. He afterwards studied law at Utrecht; but, upon his return to Scotland, he changed his mind, betook himself to the military profession, had seen a great deal of real service, and had conducted the affairs of Scotland for nearly forty years previous to his accidentally meeting with Cullen. This eloquent orator, and consummate politician, was exceedingly delighted with the conversation of men of science; at his own table, seized every opportunity of introducing literary and scientific subjects; and was far from being averse from taking a part in whatever happened to come under discussion.* Perhaps no eminent man of the last century was better calculated to leave an impression upon his Grace than Dr Cullen. With the manners of a gentleman, he combined a great fund of knowledge, a lively imagination, and great fluency of expression. It was this adventure, however, which was the main cause of his future fortunes in life. He had now secured the patronage of the Prime Minister of Scotland, the Duke of Argyle, and the first Scotish peer, the Duke of Hamilton. Sometime elapsed before they had an opportunity of shewing that they were sincere in their

* I have been assured that it was no uncommon occurrence for him, when any scientific subject was introduced into conversation at his own table, with which he was very little if it all acquainted, to find some excuse for leaving his company, and repair to his library, consulted authors who had treated of it, and, on his return, artfully bring it again under review.

endeavours to patronize him in the line of his profession. This did not happen till 1746, when the lectureship of chemistry in the university of Glasgow became vacant. It is in the gift of the college. Cullen proposed himself as a candidate; and, with such powerful interest, he could hardly fail to succeed. He was accordingly elected; and commenced his public lectures in the month of October of the same year.

Chemistry had hitherto been considered as a curious and useful art; but few or none had entered upon the profession of it with the same liberal and comprehensive views which Dr Cullen possessed. It appeared to him to be a region that had never been explored; and, instead of presenting objects that were uninviting or of no value, some of the most curious phenomena of nature could only be explained, and many of the most useful arts improved, by a knowledge of chemistry. His ardent mind surveyed this new world of science with the most glowing enthusiasm; and, conscious of his powers, he anticipated success; and did not despair of the period arriving, when the chemical laws should be proved to be as invariable as any of the mechanical laws that are known to exist throughout the kingdom of nature. He was the first in this country who rescued this fascinating study from the hands of those who treated it as a mere art, and assigned to it that high rank which it is entitled to hold among the sciences. He had laboured a very short time at Glasgow, until he convinced the

students of the truth of what he affirmed. They almost adored him; and so amazed were they, that all the other professors in the university were in a manner thrown into the shade. His fame was rapidly spread; and, consequently, his private practice as a physician was much increased in the populous and flourishing city of Glasgow.

In a few years afterwards, in 1751, the professorship of medicine became vacant. This was in the gift of the crown. His old friend the Duke of Argyle secured the appointment for him; and he entered upon this new province with all the alacrity and eagerness of one who was aware of his strength. Cullen's imagination was vigorous, his talent for arrangement of a very superior order, and he seems to have possessed a natural bent for theory. In teaching the institutes of medicine, he, therefore, naturally led his pupils to the study of a very refined physiology. His lectures upon both of these sciences speedily came into great request, and were better attended than any other in the college.

On the first of May 1755, he sent a paper to the Physical and Literary Society, "on the Cold produced by Evaporating Fluids, and of some other means of producing Cold." This is the only chemical essay he ever published; and evidently shews what might have been expected from him, if his genius had not strongly drawn him to the cultivation of medicine. Was it this short essay that was the more immediate occasion of his favourite pupil,

Dr Black, directing his attention so peculiarly to *heat?* or was Black "the young gentleman, one of his pupils," to whom he alludes in the paper?*

In 1756, he was elected professor of chemistry in the university of Edinburgh. Here he had a much more powerful stimulus to exertion than at Glasgow. The medical school was already formed, and the different chairs filled by eminent professors. Many more students, consequently, attended him. The effect which he produced upon this new stage was precisely similar to what had happened at Glasgow. The students, as usual, warmly entered into his views; and the marked attention with which they listened to his prelections re-acted upon himself, and excited him to more strenuous exertion. When professor of chemistry, the bad health of Dr Rutherford rendered assistance necessary in the Infirmary. Dr Monro, Dr Whytt, and Dr Cullen, undertook to supply his place. Somehow or another, the novelty of his chemical doctrines, and the new mode of practice which he followed in the hospital, were equally acceptable to the students. Of the latter circumstance, indeed, he informs us himself,† as well as "that his doctrines were frequently criticised by persons who either had not been informed of them correctly, or who seemed not to understand them fully." This, it is well known, proceeded from the jealousy of

* Phys. and Lit. Essays, vol. ii. p. 169.

† Preface to First Lines, p. 7.

some of his colleagues, who disapproved of innovation of every kind. Dr Cullen, however, never desisted from following the practice which he conceived to be most proper, though he conducted himself with all the courtesy in his power to those who secretly opposed him.

In February 1766, the late Dr John Gregory prevailed upon Dr Rutherford to address a letter to the patrons, in which he resigned his professorship of the practice of physic, and strongly recommended Dr Gregory as his successor. This arrangement was accordingly adopted. Dr Whytt, who taught the institutes, died in about two months after; and Dr Cullen petitioned for the vacant chair, and obtained it. These two celebrated professors continued to teach each his own class for three sessions. Upon the 12th of April 1769, however, Dr Cullen petitioned the patrons to have Dr Gregory as joint professor of medicine; and proposed that they should alternately teach the institutes and the practice. A full explanation of the reasons for this transaction was never publicly given by either of the parties. It has been well understood in private, however, that it was in consequence of the different theories they had espoused upon some leading medical doctrines, which both professors could not avoid mentioning in their lectures. The patrons complied with the desire of both the professors; and declared that, upon the death of either, the survivor should

have it in his option to make his election which professorship he would prefer. Dr Cullen delivered his first course of lectures upon the practice of physic (if I mistake not) in 1769. He seems, from the very first, to have been very ambitious of obtaining the professorship of the practice of physic; and for a good many years to have principally directed his studies to that branch of the profession. The unexpected and much lamented death of Dr Gregory, upon the 10th February 1773, put it in his power to be sole professor of the "practice;" and, accordingly, upon the 17th of the same month, he was elected to that office.

When Dr Cullen held the professorship of the institutions of medicine, he published "Heads of Lecctures for the use of the Students in the University of Edinburgh." But he went no further than the first part, which was physiology. This was a subject on which he delighted to speculate; and, perhaps, there is no department of science which presents to the mind of a philosopher so many agreeable and inviting topics of discussion as the phenomena of life and health. Cullen, whose genius was naturally adventurous, entertained no idea of declining any discussion that had been attempted by others. In this department of the course, he was careful to collect and arrange the facts upon which his reasonings were founded; and is represented to have excited great interest; but that he was too apt to indulge

in theoretical disquisition; and, consequently, the students who attended him, full of the doctrines taught by the professor, entered keenly into debates concerning them. After explaining the doctrines which were in his time current respecting the simple solids, and pointing out the distinctive properties of animate and inanimate matter, he proceeded to discuss the nervous system. His theories upon this subject contained the most palpable materialism which was ever delivered; though, in section xxxi. he assumes that mind, or an immaterial thinking substance, is constantly present. We have no occasion, therefore, to be at any loss to account for the little notice he took of his predecessor Dr Whytt's theories, who had been educated in a very different school. It is truly astonishing that a man of Cullen's extraordinary acuteness did not perceive the inference; an inference which is so obvious to every one else. But he was probably afraid of giving offence to the ecclesiastical authorities. He attempted to explain, by physiology, the whole phenomena of mind. Thus, according to him, all the faculties of the mind may be accounted for by the different kind or degree of sensations which are communicated to the nervous system. In this manner, he pretends to demonstrate the nature and origin of memory, imagination, &c. A malicious person would be disposed to affirm that, when composing this part of his work, he had kept constantly

in view Hume's absurd theory of Impressions and Ideas, which, for my own part, I am fully convinced was not the case. Metaphysical physiology, how amusing soever it may be, and calculated to exercise the ingenuity of speculative men, is, to say the least of it, a very unprofitable study, if we are to judge of the success of those who have attempted to unite them.

In the second part of the course, he delivered the general doctrine of diseases; and, in the third, the means of preventing and curing them.

The medical student can be at no loss to conjecture the reasons that induced him not to publish the heads of his lectures upon those two departments of the course at the same time with the physiology. He reserved his strength, till he should have it in his power to deliver his doctrines upon these subjects in the great work which he had long before projected, and which he afterwards accomplished, under the title of "*First Lines of the Practice of Physic.*"

Meanwhile, in 1772, he published "*Synopsis Nosologiæ Methodicæ*," in two volumes octavo; and this he afterwards much improved in 1780. This was a very necessary work, and peculiarly so to him who delivered lectures upon those subjects. He inserted abstracts of the systems of Sauvages, Linnæus, Vogel, and Sagar. This work was written in Latin; and the merit of the performance has been universally admitted. He has criticised, with candour those

authors who had preceded him in attempting to systematise medical knowledge; confesses the formidable difficulties he had to encounter; shews in what respects he considered their works defective; and wherein his own arrangement is liable to exception.

This was the precursor of his "First Lines;" and, besides being a text-book to direct his pupils, was designed to prepare the public for his great work, which was expected with general impatience. They were accordingly favoured with it in 1776. It spread very rapidly through Europe; and, if report be true, it produced to the author about three thousand pounds sterling; which was a great sum in those days. It procured him great reputation; and was of essential service in promoting the prosperity of the university. To enter upon an account of so extensive a work, and which is in the hands of every medical student, would be very unsuitable and inconsistent with our object.

Dr Cullen published a treatise on the *Materia Medica*, in two volumes quarto, about a year before he died. A surreptitious copy of the lectures he had delivered upon that subject, when unexpectedly called to finish what Dr Alston had begun, had been published. This was not designed to obviate the bad effects which might have been produced by that work. It was entirely a new treatise; but the friends of Cullen readily acknowledged that they

perceived an evident decay in the mental energy of their great master. It is now quite unnecessary to conceal the truth. It was composed for the express purpose of raising a little money, and was thought to betray evident marks of a hasty compilation. Dr Cullen died upon the 5th of February 1790, having delivered public lectures in the college a few weeks before his death.

This eminent philosopher, professor, and physician, was very tall in his person; and, even in the prime of life, I have been assured, was rather of an awkward appearance. His features regular and manly; and his eyes, particularly in conversation, or when addressing his students, very expressive. His temper was naturally open and ingenuous; and he was consequently very communicative in conversation. His imagination was rich and lively; which enabled him to employ (if I may use such an expression) great exuberance of illustration upon whatever subject he had occasion to notice in his lectures; and, what is seldom united to the possession of such a faculty, he at the same time possessed great natural acuteness, and was exceedingly ingenious in devising arguments to support his various theories. His reading upon medical subjects was extensive; yet he perhaps underrated the ancients, and those physicians who professedly admired whatever had the sanction of antiquity. Though he willingly conceded to them what he conceived to be justly due, his comprehensive

and ardent mind was impatient of restraint. He could not pace in the trammels of authority; but delighted in expatiating free over every scene which presented itself to his view. His love of science was sincere and ardent. Notwithstanding the great variety of subjects on which he had given public lectures, such was the fertility of his mind, that he was always interesting, and never allowed the attention of his audience to become languid. He did not read his lectures, but spoke from short notes; and, perfectly master of his subject, he was very fluent. His talent for generalization was one of the most striking characters of his mind; and he possessed a facility of arranging his knowledge, which has fallen to the lot of very few. As a physician, his practice was very extensive; and he was much beloved in the circle of his numerous acquaintance. His patronage of young men of genius and application was unbounded. If such young men were in poor circumstances, he constantly found out some means or another to relieve their wants. He was liberal in giving them sound advice, as to settling in the world; which his very extensive correspondence enabled him to do frequently with great effect.

He was a great master in the scientific branches of husbandry, a consummate botanist, and possessed a correct taste in the fine arts. In the year 1758, after finishing his course of chemistry, he delivered to a number of his particular friends, and favourite

pupils, nine lectures on the subject of agriculture. In these few lectures, he, for the first time, laid open the true principle concerning the nature of soils, and the operation of manures. *

In short, Scotland has produced few men who have been greater blessings to their native country and to mankind than Dr William Cullen.

* Statist. Acc. vol. ix. p. 416.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Acts by the Town Council of Edinburgh, regarding the University.—Vid. p. 17.

Edinburgh, 3d September 1708.

THE same day, my Lord Provost produced at the council table an abbreviate of the acts anent the college; which being publicly read in presence of the council, together with ane act of parliament ratifying the rights of the college, they ordained the said abbreviate to be recorded in the council-books. Of which abbreviate the tenor follows:—

Edinburgh, 15th February 1703.

A short account of the foundation, rise, and progress of the college of Edinburgh, commonly called King James' College, the Town's right thereto, with many instances of the great power and uninterrupted government therein, as erectors and patrons thereof, and chief benefactors thereto, collected out of the Town's records, for clearing a debate betwixt the pro-

fessors of philosophy and the magistrates, anent the appointment of laureation, and election of a member of the college as a commissioner of the general assembly; alledging that they had a separate power from the Town to appoint and determine anent both: As also an act of an visitation of the college, wherein the contrary of what the professors alledged was clearly determined.

Anno 1562. The Town supplicates the Queen's Majesty for the rents of the priests and friars places, who ought to be compelled to work for their livings, being stark and potent men of body, and their places and rents to be applied for planting of hospitals and erecting of schools of literature, whereof there is great need. And seeing their lands and annuals were fallen in her Majesty's hands, they beseeched that they might be bestowed for teaching of letters, sciences, and hospitals; and also they supplicated for the Grey Friar Yard. Her Majesty's answer was returned upon the back of the supplication, viz. Appoints the Grey Friar Yard to be a burial-place for the town of Edinburgh; and promiseth, whenever a sufficient provision is made for building an school, her Majesty shall provide a room convenient therefor.

Anno 1562. The said year, the council appoints the bailies to commune with the parson of Pennycook, laird of that ilk, touching the Kirk of Field, and haill biggings thereof, and to report.

1563, *June* 23. The said parson of Pennycook sells and dispones to the good town the haill biggings called the Kirk of Field, prebendry of the same; and obliges that he shall obtain to the good town the gift of the feu made thereof to my Lord Robert Stewart of Holyroodhouse; and shall get to them the Queen's confirmation thereof, in the most sicker *(secure)* form.

1564, *August* 2. The foresaid prebendrie and provostry in

the Kirk of Field, and all things thereanent, was conveyed to the Town, and the papers delivered up to the magistrates.

1566. The Queen grants a very full charter and infeftment of the Kirk of Field. Its annuals and priviledges, &c. to be called our foundation of the ministry and hospitality of Edinburgh, as the gift at length bears.

1567. The Town having obtained the gift of the Kirk of Field, they dispone in feu-ferme several lands and yards pertaining to the Black Friars, because they had not wherewith to found hospitals and schools.

1568. The council, understanding that several lands belonging to the Black Friars, now in the Town's hands, are become ruinous; wherefore, they send forth a proclamation, that these lands were to be rouped, and were to be set for feu or for meal; and accordingly were rouped.

1579. The council ordains the magistrates, with Mr Clement Little, advocate, and Mr Henry Charters, to meet tomorrow in the ministers lodgings, for taking some order anent the forming an university.

The magistrates, understanding that the yards of the Kirk of Field are made a common passage, and filled with muck, they ordain and order forthwith a remeid.

The said year compeared Nicol Hutchison, one of the prebendaries of the Kirk of Field, and freely resigned and overgave in the hands of the magistrates all right or title he had or shall hereafter claim to, in the prebendary founded by Patrick Richardson, merchant in Edinburgh, in favours of the ministers and hospital thereof; and delivered eleven pieces of evidents thereanent; for which the Town payed threescore and ten merks of pension during life. The council sends forth a proclamation, inviting any fit person for the office of a portership in the Kirk of Field, which shall be disponed to the most

fit. The bailies and ministers conveen for taking order anent the forming an university in the Kirk of Field.

The said year, several purchases made in and about the Kirk of Field, from sundry prebendaries of St Giles, and other private persons.

1580. Mr Clement Little, advocate, and one of the commissaries of Edinburgh, left thirteen score and eight godly books, to begin a library for the use of the ministers of Edinburgh.

1581. Ordains dykes to be put about the yards of the Kirk of Field, and to put new locks on the yetts (*gates*) thereof.

1582. King James the Sixth ratifies the Town's charter and rights to the Kirk of Field, granted by the Queen, his mother, containing several new grants to the Town, viz. for the entertainment of the professors of languages and sciences in a college; giving the Town power to elect, inputt, and outputt masters and professors, as they shall find expedient; which charter is put up in the charter-house.

1583. The Town makes sale of sundry lands of their own within the town, to be employed upon founding and building a college in the Kirk of Field, because the Town's common good was super-expended; and accordingly two masters of work were appointed.

Ordains the chambers to be set at forty shillings per piece, and two to be in one bed; and appointed the loft in the east end of the High Kirk for the masters and students, and that to hear sermon for sometime, until a better convenience was provided.

1583, *October*. The charters above mentioned produced by the magistrates to the town-council.

1584. Ordains the treasurer and bailies to agree with the masters of the college anent their fees, and to bring them to a settled term.

Gives power to several of the magistrates to conveen and confer with Mr Robert Rollo, master of the college, for taking up an house and table therein.

The bell of the grammar school, which is under the same foundation with the college, is ordered to be taken down, and placed in the college.

1585. Ordered to search out the rental-book of the Black Friars; and that it be bought and obtained from the *havers* thereof.

Master Robert Rollo made and constitute first master and principal of the Town's college in the Kirk of Field.

1586. Sir Walter Hutcheson, one of the prebends of the Kirk of Field, being in great poverty, not able to live on his pension, gets an augmentation of four pounds Scots quarterly.

October. Grants and gives to Mr Adam Colt, Mr Alexander Scrimser, two new masters and regents of the Town's college, ilk (*each*) one eight pounds Scots for their boarding, and ilk ane forty pounds Scots of stipend.

The Town appoints a conference with the Lord Hamilton, anent the buying of his lodgings in the Kirk of Field.

1587. Mr Hislop, one of the scholars, elected regent, after public disputation, being for the new class.

December. The Town intreats Mr Rollo, principal, to teach theology, to preach in the East Kirk in the mornings, and agreed to give him five hundred merks.

1588, *January.* The Town appoints commissioners to confer with the Lord Hamilton anent his lodgings; and a blank submission subscribed thereanent.

The Lords of Session confer with the magistrates anent the raising of a fund for maintaining of a professor of the laws. Mr Charles Fairholme, one of the scholars, preferred to be a regent, which appears to be the fourth class.

The Master of Lindsay, tacksman of the Abbotshall of

Haddington, with the priors thereof, is moved of zeal and conscience to appropriate the living of the same to godly uses of the ministry and schools, and a part thereof to the college of this Town; anent which the council appointed a committee.

February. The council admits, creates, and constitutes, Mr Henry Charters, regent, one of their own upbringing, as principal master of the college during their will, in place of Mr Robert Rollo, deceased, late principal. Mr Robert Scott and Mr Robert Knox created regents during the council's will; and found caution to keep and complete their course, under the penalty of five hundered merks.

1591. Mr Robert Rollo's relict got one hundred merks yearly of pension, and his daughter to have one thousand merks at her marriage; and that because the said Mr Robert had done great and good offices to the Town's common weil, being the first teacher and planter of literature, discipline, good order, and manners, had travailled much in the Town's affairs, and preached in their great need; and the Town promises such like kindnesses to all such who should do steedable offices to their common weel.

1593. Robert, Bishop of Orkney, legats eight thousand merks for founding a college within this burgh; wherewith several purchases were made about the Kirk of Field.

1600. Mr Henry Charters, principal of the college, has appointed to him six hundred merks of salary.

1603. Mr James Reid elected regent; and found surety that he should complete the course of his class, under the pain of five hundred merks.

1604. Mr David Monro chosen regent; finds caution, as Mr Reid, under the pain of one hundred pounds Scots; and shall obey all orders given by the magistrates concerning the college;

and that he shall not preach in any church but in Edinburgh during his office.

1607. Mr James Fairley elected regent, in the terms of Mr Monro.

1608. Alexander Douglas elected porter to the college, and to obey the Provost and Magistrates instructions thereanent.

1612. The lands in the Kirk of Field belonging to Duke Hamilton are bought for the use of the college, for which the Town paid L.3000 Scots.

1616. King James the Sixth desires of the Town that the college be called Kings James' College, by a letter from his court, at Paisley.

1620. The Principal, Mr Henry Charteris, demits his office in the hands of the magistrates, as patrons of the said college; and Mr Patrick Smith chosen in his place, during the council's pleasure.

March 20. Mr Andrew Ramsay, one of the pastors of Edinburgh, is chosen professor of divinity in their college, during the council's will.

1621. A ratification in parliament by King James the Sixth, to the Provost, Magistrates, and community of the burgh of Edinburgh, and their successors, mentioning the great and thankful services the Town had done to him and his progenitors, and the many donations the city had made to the college, and the great pains they had been at thereanent, ratifying all former rights, charters, and gifts to the college; and of new grants the Town, for the behoof of the college, all liberties, freedoms, immunities, and privileges, appertaining to any free college, and that in as ample form as any college has or bruicks within this kingdom; and ordains the college to be called King James' College; which ratification is put up in the charter house.

1627. Mr Henry Charteris, minister of North Leith, elect-

ed professor of divinity in the college, during the council's will, and had one thousand merks stipend appointed, and received his instructions; and was to teach the Hebrew once or twice a-week.

April. The council dismisses Mr James Reid, professor in the college, during the council's will; and afterwards he gave in his demission to the Town as patrons.

1628. Mr Andrew Ramsay, professor of divinity, demits his office to the Town.

March 28. The laws anent the discipline of the college, both for masters and students are at length recorded, as they are publicly read in the college without any material alteration, to this year 1703, with the Town's act authorizing the same.

1633. The council ordains the very seasons of the attendance of the magistrands, betwixt the rising of the college and laureation, under certain penalties for each diet's absence; and the regents to be accountable for the fines for buying books to the library.

The magistrates direct the regents and scholars only to go to burials, as those who had been benefactors to the college, and other persons of eminence.

1638. Mr Robert Burn and Mr John Rankine, regents, both deposed by the magistrates and ministers, because thought expedient, they holding their places at will allenarly; and Mr James Wiseman elected during their will allenarly.

1639. Mr Alexander Henderson chosen rector; his power and orders given him by the magistrates, as is recorded, 8th January 1640.

August 9. Mr John Adamson, principal of the college, elected by the magistrates, ministers, and regents, to the general assembly.

December 17. Mr Duncan Forrest elected during the council's will, with provision of his obedience to the council and

principal, observing the laws of the college, made or to be made by the patrons.

1640. The first institution of a college treasurer, and the rents of the college fully considered.

July 4. Mr John Adamson, principal of the college, elected by the magistrates, ministers, and regents, to be commissioner for the college to the next general assembly.

1644. Mr John Sharp, professor of divinity, elected commissioner to the general assembly by the Town-council.

1645. Several good acts anent the college, particularly for putting up a board for benefactors; and appoints yearly visitations; and that the benefactors names be yearly read in presence of the Provost, Bailies, Ministers, Rector, and Assessors, and the haill students and scholars.

The magistrates appoint the regent's place of prayer, the times of playing, &c.

They appoint circulation at the laureations, and determine the fines of transgressors; and appoints the meetings of the regents with the *hebdomadary*.

1646, *November* 23. Mr Andrew Ramsay elected rector of the college; and instructions given him, as set down 8th January 1640.

1648. Mr Alexander Colvill elected professor of divinity; and Gideon Lithgow, printer to the college, July 1648.

1653, *June* 20. Mr Robert Leighton, primar, elected by the council and members of the college commissioner to the next General Assembly, June 29. 1653. The council intimates to the college, that the affairs of the college are to be treated of in the council; that the regents and professors be sent for *pro re nata*; and declare the council's meeting in the college is only to see the council's acts to be put in execution.

1665. Statutes, that the Provost of Edinburgh, present and

to come, shall in all time coming be rector and governor of the college.

January 29. The council recommends it to the primar, Mr Colville, and the regents, to cause make ready an account of the money collected from the bajans and magistrands; and ordains catalogues of the library to be alphabetically, and according to the institution of the Præses.

July. The council appoints the laureation to be in Lady Yester's Kirk on 19th July.

The council elects Mr George Sinclair regent; he obeying the instructions already prescribed and to be prescribed by the council.

The said year, the council elects Mr Andrew Ross regent, on Mr Sinclair's terms.

1666. The council appoints the laureation of the magistrands of the college to be in the common hall, Monday next, in the fore and afternoon.

The council elects Mr William Somervill *Bibliothecarius*, found caution to observe all injunctions given and to be given by the council.

1667, *September*. The council elects Mr William Paterson regent; he obeying the injunctions already prescribed or to be prescribed by the council.

1673, *July* 9. The council appoints Mr Pillans' class to be laureated in the common hall.

The council appoints the time of the laureation of Mr Andrew Ross his class in the year 1674.

1674. Mr Alexander Dickson, professor of Hebrew, his salary reduced to 700 merks, the Town not having a fund for such a profession in 1674, wanting a foundation for the professor.

1680. Mr Alexander Douglas elected professor of Hebrew, and to have 600 merks yearly.

1685. Dr Sibbald, Dr Pitcairn, and Dr Halket, elected professors of physic or medicine, with express condition that they were never to have any salary from the Town.

1690. Mr William Law, the first regent, elected, without instructions or conditions.

March 5 and 12. The council order Mr William Scott his magistrand class to be publicly graduated in the public hall of the college upon the first Tuesday of May next.

May 12. A petition given in by Mr William Scott, attested by the rest of the masters of philosophy, representing several reasons and insupportable difficulties why there could not be a public laureation for the present year; whereupon the council did permit and allow the laureation to be private *pro hac vice*, with sundry other instructions.

The council discharge and prohibit the regents, upon their peril, to graduate any in time coming, but such who take out a certificate or diploma with the town's seal, and poor scholars to have it *gratis*; and order that all certificates make honourable mention of the Magistrates and Council of Edinburgh as patrons of the college.

After a similar introduction as the foregoing, a minute of 15th October 1703 thus proceeds:—

"Notwithstanding whereof, the masters of the said college, taking upon them of late to meet by themselves as an independent faculty of the said college, did, upon 20th January last, make the following, viz. The faculty of philosophy within the city of Edinburgh, taking to their consideration the reasons offered by Mr Scott why his magistrand class should be privately graduated, and being fully satisfied with the same, do unanimously, according to their undoubted right, contained in the charter of erection, and their constant and uninterrupted custom in such cases, appoint the said classes to be laureated privately upon the last Tuesday of April next, being the twenty-

seventh day of said month, as the said act, bearing to be signed by order, in and in presence, by Robert Henderson, their clerk (bears:) As also, some of the said masters did lately claim a power to themselves, separately from the magistrates and town-council, to elect a commissioner to the ensuing General Assembly, and, in face of the town-council, protested for the same. Therefore, the Lord Provost, Bailies, and Town-council, being met upon the foresaid occasion, in the said visitation, with the ministers of Edinburgh, thereto called, did declare their just dissatisfaction with the foresaid act and proceeding of the said masters, being unwarrantable and unprecedented. But it being proposed, for the more peaceable and happy composure of those differences, that the said masters should, in presence of the magistrates and town-council, with the said ministers, convened in manner foresaid, pass from their said act as unwarrantable, and submit themselves entirely to the magistrates and town-council, and order the foresaid laureation, as to time, place, and manner, as the council should think fit; as also, to take up and withdraw their said protest, taken anent the electing a commissioner to the Assembly; and that a committee of the town-council might be appointed for revising the laws of the college prescribed to them by the town-council, and for making such other laws, after the council's hearing of the said masters, as may be thought proper, to prevent the like mistakes in time coming, for the weel and benefit of the college. And said masters being all present, and particularly interrogated, if they agreed to the said proposals; and they having each of them, for himself, and all of them together, declared their assent thereto; the said Magistrates and Town-council, with the advice of the said ministers, declared their acceptance of the said proposal and agreement; and that they would appoint a committee with the first convenience, for the ends above expressed. And they or-

dained this act to be drawn up and extended upon the whole premises, and recorded in the books of the council, relating to the college, *at futuram rei memoriam.*"

No. II.

List of the Principals and Professors of the University of Edinburgh, from the year 1700 *to* 1759. *Extracted from the Register of the Honourable the Town council of Edinburgh.*

Principals.

William Carstares,	May 12.	1703.
William Wishart,	June 1.	1716.
William Hamilton,	February 16.	1732.
James Smith,	July 18.	1738.
William Wishart, jun.	November 10.	1736.
John Goldie,	February 6.	1754.

Professors.

George Meldrum, Divinity,	December 24.	1701.
John Goodale, Hebrew,	November 6.	1702.
Robert Stewart,	October 22.	1703.
Charles Preston, Botany,	May 8.	1706.
Colin Drummond,	October 24.	1707.
Charles Erskine, Law,	November 7.	1707.
William Scott, Greek,	June 16.	1708.
William Law, Moral Philosophy,	July	1708.

Adam Drummond, conjunct Professor of Anatomy with R. Elliot,	July 28.	1708.
William Hamilton, Divinity,	August 17.	1709.
James Craig, Civil Law,	October 18.	1710.
George Preston, Botany,	January 2.	1712.
James Crauford, Chemistry,	December 9.	1713.
John M'Gill, Anatomy,	October 4.	1714.
James Crauford, Hebrew,	August 21.	1719.
(*N. B.* This was the same Dr Crauford who was first Professor of Chemistry.)		
Charles Mackie, Universal Civil History,	August 28.	1719.
Alexander Monro, Anatomy,	March 14.	1722.
Alexander Bayne, Scots Law,	November 28.	1722.
Charles Mackie, Universal Civil History and Antiquities,	November 28.	1722.
William Porterfield, Medicine	August 12.	1724.
Adam Watt, Humanity,	August 18.	1725.
Colin M'Laurin, Mathematics,	November 3.	1725.
Joseph Gibson, Midwifery,	February 9.	1726.
William Scott, jun. Moral Philosophy,	February 26.	1729.
Colin Drummond, Greek,	February 4.	1730.
John Stevenson, Logic and Metaphysics,	February 25.	1730.
James Smith, Divinity,	February 16.	1732.
William Dawson, Hebrew,	July 26.	1732.
Thomas Dundas, Civil Law,	November 15.	1732.
John Pringle, Moral Philosophy,	February 23.	1734.
John Ker, Humanity,	October 2.	1734.
William Kirkpatrick, Public Law,	November 27.	1734.
George Abercromby, Public Law,	December 17.	1735.
John Erskine, Scots Law,	July 13.	1737.
Patrick Cumming, Ecclesiastical History,	December 7.	1737.
Charles Alston, Botany,	March 31.	1738.
Robert Law, Greek,	July 26.	1738.

Robert Smith, Midwifery,	December 14.	1739.
Robert Hunter, Greek,	December 9.	1741.
George Stewart, Humanity,	December 16.	1741.
John Stewart, Natural Philosophy,	September 1.	1742.
Kenneth M'Kenzie, Civil Law,	March 1.	1745.
William Cleghorn, Moral Philosophy,	June 5.	1745.
Andrew St Clair, the Theory and Practice of Medicine,	February 9.	1726.
John Rutherford, the Theory and Practice of Medicine,	February 9.	1726.
Andrew Plummer, Medicine and Chemistry,	February 9.	1726.
John Innes, Medicine and Chemistry,	February 9.	1726.
Robert Whytt, Medicine,	August 26.	1747.
Mathew Stewart, Mathematics,	October 21.	1747.
James Robertson, Hebrew,	June 26.	1751.
John Gordon, Universal History, Greek, and Roman Antiquities,	December 26.	1753.
Robert Hamilton, Divinity,	February 6.	1754.
Alexander Monro, Anatomy,	June 19	1754.
James Balfour, Moral Philosophy,	August 28.	1754.
William Wallace, Universal History,	December 23.	1754.
Robert Dick, Civil Law,	January 22.	1755.
William Cullen, Chemistry,	November 19.	1755.
Thomas Young, Midwifery,	February 18.	1756.

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FINIS.

Alex. Smellie, printer to the University.

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